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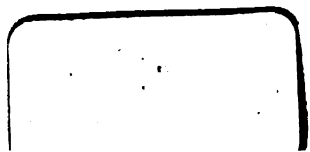
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Z W I N G L I;
OR,
THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION IN
SWITZERLAND.

A LIFE OF THE REFORMER,
WITH SOME NOTICES OF HIS TIME AND CONTEMPORARIES,

BY
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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

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P R E F A C E.

THE object of the present work is to set Zwingli before us as he lived, and as he wrought. The Author has adopted the plan likely to be most successful in conveying an accurate impression of his subject;—he has made his work, as far as the materials at his command would admit of, AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL. We have extracts from the Reformer's correspondence—we are introduced to the circle of his friends—we are thrown into the arena of his mighty contests—we are conducted through the vineyard in which he laboured—we are admitted to view the interior of his domestic life. But in the communication of this information it is chiefly the hero himself who speaks, and tells us the story of his life. The portraiture of the Reformer thus drawn may be accepted as faithful; it can hardly be otherwise; the plan taken by the Author is certainly that best adapted for producing what may be called a PHOTOGRAPHIC delineation of character. But it is not only the Reformer himself who is here sketched to the life, much light is thrown upon his coadjutors in the work of Reformation, upon the rise and history of the great movement itself, and upon the manners and modes of thinking of the times in which it took place. We believe the work will be generally acceptable to the English public, as a faithful record of the doings and sayings of one of the noblest characters of an eventful epoch.

THE TRANSLATOR.

April, 1858.

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FIRST SECTION.

HULDREICH ZWINGLI'S BOYHOOD AND SCHOOL-TIME.

"Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee."—JER. xxxi. 3.

1. ZWINGLI'S PARENTAGE AND BIRTHPLACE.

AT the Eastern extremity of the pleasant valley of Toggenburg, at an almost Alpine height, lies the village of Wildhaus. A simple dwelling, that stands on a green meadow to the right of the highway, recalls to the mind of the traveller, as he passes through this mountain valley, the memory of a great man. For in this plain but cheerful-looking house stood the cradle of Zwingli, the Reformer, a man by whose agency God caused the light of His glorious gospel once more to arise in new splendour over a world darkened by human invention and by sin. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, there lived here, begirt by a numerous flock of children, a respectable and pious couple, Huldreich Zwingli and Margaritha, whose maiden name was Meili. The confidence and esteem which Zwingli, the father, enjoyed among his fellow-villagers had raised him to the office of head or ammann of the community. This mark of their confidence they conferred upon him as soon as, in the gradual development of a freer constitution, they had wrung from the manor of the land, the Abbot of St. Gall, the right of choosing their judges, their ammann, and even the parson himself. In its ecclesiastical relations, Wildhaus had formerly stood in filial dependence on Gams; but, at the expressed wish of the inhabitants, it had been raised to the position of an independent community, and the first parson they elected, in the exercise of their new rights, was the brother of the ammann, Bartholomæus Zwingli. He was afterwards, from 1487 till 1513, parson and dean at Wesen, at the outlet of the Wallen Lake. The mother of Zwingli had also a brother an

ecclesiastic, John Meili, from 1510 till 1523 abbot of the cloister of Fischingen, in the canton of Thurgau. The inhabitants of Wildhaus had been from time immemorial known as a cheerful, merry, song-loving people. The natural character of their country made them shepherds. In the first days of May, as soon as the mountains put on their coats of green, the cattle is driven up with the harmonious clangour of bells, to the higher pastures, and ever higher and higher a part of the inhabitants continue to ascend, till, at the end of July, the loftiest Alp is reached. The youngsters, who are left at home during this summer time, to attend to the affairs of the house, and to gather in the hay for provender to the cattle during winter, haste on the Sundays up the steep sides of the mountain to celebrate with their companions, who are tending the flocks, gladsome pastoral sports, in which the joyous note of song mixes itself with the simple tone of the Alpine horn. When winter extends its domain from the icy summits, the shepherds drive their flocks downwards in the direction of the winter stalls. This simple-hearted peasantry spend the winter evenings in rude hamlets, dimly lit by a tallow candle, but the dreary time is lightened by the joyous voice of song or the pleasant tone of some musical instrument, for rare it is to find a cottage in which some of the inmates at least cannot handle an instrument. The Ammann Zwingli had meadows and alps, and he and his family shared the calling and the joys of his fellow-villagers. On the 1st of January 1484, his spouse presented him with a son, who received from his paternal uncle, Parson Bartholomæus, the rite of baptism, and the name of his father. Young Huldreich had seven brothers and two sisters. He appears to have been from an early age distinguished for the liveliness of his disposition, and the quickness of his parts, so that the eyes of his parents and his two spiritual uncles rested on him with satisfaction and full of hope. It was the desire of their hearts that he should be a priest, as his father's brother and his mother's brother were. The mind of the boy Zwingli received its first intellectual nourishment in his father's house, and in the long winter evenings, when his father related, in the circle of his family and more intimate associates, stories from Swiss history, shewing his attentive auditors how their native valley of Toggenburg had acquired greater and yet greater freedom, and how its

inhabitants had secured themselves in the possession of it, by allying themselves with the bold confederates who rolled back from their mountain steep the hosts of Charles the Bold. Tales of this sort fell like sparks of living fire on the soul of young Huldreich, and in the age of his manhood they burst forth into an ardent love of home and native country. The boy often, too, hung on the lips of his pious grandmother, as she stirred his piety by the relation of legendary tales and biblical stories. But, most of all, the language in which God speaks to the inhabitants of the mountain regions moved his young spirit. "I have often thought, in my simplicity," writes his friend Oswald Myconius, "that from these sublime heights, which stretch up towards heaven, he has taken something heavenly and divine." When the thunder rolls through the gorges of the mountains, and leaps from crag to crag with crashing roar, then it is as if we heard anew the voice of the Lord God proclaiming, "I am the Almighty God, walk before me, and be thou perfect." When in the dawn of morning the icy mountains glow in light divine, so that a sea of fire seems to surround all their tops, it is as if "the Lord God of Hosts treadeth upon the high places of the earth,"* and as if the border of His garment of light had transfigured the hills. It is then that, with reverential awe, we feel as if the cry came to us also which pierced to the ear of Isaiah, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."† Here, under the magnificent impressions of a mountain world and their wonders, there awoke in the breast of young Zwingli the first awful sense of the grandeur and majesty of God, which afterwards filled his whole soul, and armed him with intrepidity in the great conflict with the powers of darkness. In the solitude of the mountains, broken only by the bells of his pasturing flocks, the reflective boy mused on the wisdom of God which reveals itself in all creatures. An echo of this deep contemplation of nature, which occupied his harmless youth, we find in a work which, in the ripeness of manhood, he composed on "The Providence of God."‡ "Do not," says he in this treatise, "even the animals which belong to the genus of mice proclaim the wisdom and providence of God? When, for example, the hedgehog carries so dexterously into his hole a quantity of fruit on his prickles,

* Amos iv. 13.

† Isaiah vi. 3.

‡ De Providentiâ Dei.

rolling himself round on it, and forking it—or when the marmot sets one of his number as a watch on an eminence, that by its whistle it may give warning at the right time of the approach of danger, to those who are running about and working, gathering together the softest hay, one making a waggon of the other, this one lying on its back, allowing itself to be loaded on belly and breast with hay, which it catches with its feet, and holds fast, that seizing his fellow, which has let himself be made a hurdle of, by the tail, and carrying him with the booty to the storehouse, which work the animals perform that they may pass the winter in sleep—or when the squirrel draws a piece of wood to the bank with its mouth, and ferries across a river as if in a canoe, its upright tail serving it instead of a sail—what voice, what language can so highly exalt the divine wisdom as the acts of these animals do which belong to the lowest order of intelligence? Nay, do not even the things without sense and intelligence manifest that the power, goodness, the renewing and sustaining energy of God is present with them? The earth, for example, the mother of all, shuts never ruthlessly her rich treasures within herself; she heeds not the wounds made on her by spade and share. The dew, the rain, the rivers moisten, restore, quicken within her that which had been brought to a still-stand in growth by drought, and its after-thriving testifies wondrously of the divine power. The mountains, too, these awkward, rude, inert masses, that give to the earth, as the bones to the flesh, solidity, form, and consistency, that render impossible, or at least difficult, the passage from one place to another, which, although heavier than the earth itself, yet soar far above it, and never sink, do they not proclaim the imperishable might of Jehovah, and speak forth the whole volume of His majesty? In these works of God we behold proofs of the existence of that divine power which sustains them all in being, not less than in Man himself.”

2. ZWINGLI AT THE SCHOOLS OF BASLE AND BERNE

On young Huldreich's reaching his eighth or ninth year, his father resolved to take him to his uncle at Wesen, and commit the boy to the charge of this relative. The way to Wesen led

father and son over the green heights of the Ammon, from whose summit young Zwingli for the first time looked abroad upon the wide world, now, as it were, unrolled before his eye. Well might the glance of the future apostle of the truth from this summit sweep full of boding meaning to the valley of Glarus, to the woody heights of Einsiedeln, and to the lovely shores of the lake of Zurich, at each and all of which places, he afterwards, in full trust in the God who laid the foundation of the hills, waged the glorious war for the faith once delivered to the saints. The dean of Wesen loved his brother's child as his own son, and sent him to the public school to receive the first rudiments of his education. When the knowledge of his master at this seminary, as soon happened, no longer met the demands of the ready-witted pupil, his uncle took care to have him sent to Basle, and placed there under the charge of his friend, George Binzli. Binzli was a learned man, who, at the same time, possessed a mild disposition and a warm heart. Here, too, the rapid progress of the boy speedily outran the capabilities of the master. Young Huldreich was especially clever in the disputations which were then common as well in the lower as in the higher schools, excelling in these all his class-fellows. His musical talents, too, began to develope themselves in an extraordinary degree, and to excite universal admiration. The faithful teacher, perceiving that his school would no longer avail for his precocious scholar, sent him home, with a recommendation that he might be sent to a seminary better correspondent with the attainments he had made. At that time, Henry Woelflin (Lupulus), at Berne, taught the dead languages with great applause. The Ammann of Wildhaus and the Dean of Wesen resolved to send the boy thither. Lupulus was deeply read in the Greek and Roman classics, and in ancient history; he had also made a journey to the Holy Sepulchre, and, by personal observation, had gained a knowledge of Italy, Greece, and Palestine. The history of his native country, too, he had investigated with diligence, and he had sung with enthusiasm the life of the pious hermit Nicolaus von der Fluee. Under his tuition Zwingli was introduced to an acquaintance with the Roman orators and poets, and at the direction of this teacher he began to exercise his poetic talent in attempts in verse, after the models of the great Latin poets. The Dominican

monks, who in Berne as well as in other places, strove in rivalry, by means lawful as well as unlawful, with the Franciscans, for the superior veneration of the people, had their attention turned to the sharp-witted boy with the surprising musical talents, and sought to win him for their order. With this design, they induced him to enter their cloister, and live in it, till he should reach the age that might permit him to become a member of their order. But the eye of God watched over the lad, and preserved him from the snares of these corrupted monks. His father and uncle heard of the danger which impended over young Huldreich, and they recalled him home, to send him elsewhere.

3. ZWINGLI AT THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF VIENNA AND BASLE

Zwingli had now attained a development of understanding, and an extent of learning which fitted him to attend the High School. At the advice of his uncle, the celebrated High School of Vienna, which had obtained, under the Emperor Maximilian I, an increase of renown, was selected. Here he formed the acquaintance of two intelligent youths from his own country, both of whom, at a later period, had their brows encircled with the poetic wreath, by the hand of the Emperor, and acquired great fame as men of learning. Joachim von Watt, called Vadian, son of a rich merchant of St. Gall, was the one; Henry Loreti, called Glareanus, a peasant's son from Mollis, in the canton of Glarus, was the other. The three Swiss youths, united to each other in the bonds of a close friendship, devoted themselves with unwearied assiduity, and distinguished success, to the investigation of the sciences, then dignified with the name of philosophy; but above all, and with especial predilection, to the study of the Roman classics. Two Suabian youths studied along with them at Vienna, who were also closely connected with the young Swiss, John Heigerlin, the son of a smith at Leutkirch, hence called Smith or Faber, and John Mayer von Enk, generally surnamed Eck. Both of these ranked afterwards amongst the most virulent enemies of the Reformation.

Zwingli, after having laid in, during about two years study at Vienna, rich stores of intellectual wealth, was called home by

his father about the year 1502. The desire to prosecute his studies, and also to apply the results of his industry, impelled him, shortly after, to proceed to Basle. Arrived there, he became teacher in the school of St. Martin, and, with the best success, introduced the youth who attended the school to the knowledge of Latin. At the same time, he attended himself the prelections of the High School. Myconius writes, in reference to his studies at this period:—"He studied philosophy here with more exactness than ever, and pursued into all their refinements the idle, hair-splitting sophistries of the schoolmen (sophists), with no other intention than that, if ever he should come to close quarters with him, he might know his enemy, and beat him with his own weapons. He diversified his more serious studies by indulging in pleasantry and wit among his friends, for he had indeed great gaiety of spirit, and his discourse overflowed with wit and learning." To the number of his friends also at this period, belonged Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a native of Hagenau, in Alsace, of whom we shall afterwards hear more. But in regard to a teacher here, the Lord, whose eye had watched over his youth so faithfully, and whose hand had led him thus far so wisely, ordered things well for him in this respect also. He here found an instructor suited to his necessities, one who, instead of conducting him to the barren steppes of school-wisdom, which only feeds the common mind with vanity, while it incites the ingenious to ridicule the folly of its lessons, led him to the ever-green pastures of heavenly wisdom, as they are revealed in the Word of God. Thomas Wittenbach, a native of Bil, in Switzerland, had studied at Tuebingen, where he delivered, afterwards, prelections in the High School, and came in 1505 to Basle. To a profound knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and the works contained in them, this eminent man added that of a deep acquaintance with Holy Scripture. Out of the barren deserts of school-wisdom, destitute of all water, it was the delight of this excellent man to lead his pupils to the living sources of God's Word, and teach them to draw water from thence for themselves and their flocks. It was in the light of God's Word that he saw and felt beforehand what at a later period, was loudly proclaimed by others, "*The time is not far distant,*" said he, with prophetic wisdom, "*when the scholastic theology will be swept away, and*

the old doctrine of the Church established in its room, on the foundation of God's Word. Absolution is a Romish cheat; the death of Christ is the only payment for our sins." Such a seed-corn as this, found in the heart of Zwingli, so receptive of the true, a soil in which it struck its roots vigorously, shot up strongly, and bore noble fruit at an after day.

It was at the feet of Wittenbach that Zwingli met with a youth, just then entering his twenty-third year, with whom he formed a covenant of friendship that lasted till death. Leo Jud, son of a priest of Rappoldswyl, in Alsace, was the diminutive, sickly, mild, but bold and intrepid youth who shared with Zwingli a like love for truth and for music. After hard study, the recreation of the two friends was vocal and instrumental music. Leo poured forth a fine treble, at the same time that he struck the tymbal, while Zwingli, who had so well cultivated his musical talents that he could handle any of the then known instruments with equal skill and ease, played an accompaniment. Their sojourn together, however, was not long now. Soon the hour struck which parted the friends from each other till they should meet again with ripened powers, and with chosen armour from God's Word, to wage together God's battle in Zurich. Leo Jud became, soon after, parson at St. Pilt, in Alsace.

Zwingli, who remained at Basle, was honoured with the degree of Magister, a title which he accepted more out of deference to the prejudices of men, who weigh the learning by the title, than from any sense of its intrinsic worth. He at no period made use of the degree, being wont to say, "One is our Master, even Christ." The period of his studies had now reached its termination. He received this year a call to be parson at Glarus, being elected by the free votes of the community, and he accepted it. He entered on his new sphere of usefulness with the glad consciousness within him that he had well employed the season of preparation. God had preserved him against gross declensions, despite the general wickedness and corruptions of the time. "I acknowledge myself," are his words, "to be a great sinner before God, but I have not lived immorally, and on no occasion has discipline been exercised upon me." With a heart overflowing with gratitude for the divine guidance, he exclaimed, "God has granted me, from the age of boyhood, to devote myself

to the acquirement of knowledge, human and divine." Not yet being consecrated to the priesthood, he went to Constance to receive the consecration. On his return he preached at Rapperschwyl, on the Lake of Zurich, his first sermon, and he for the first time performed mass at Wildhaus, his native town. The community of Glarus had, in the free exercise of their right of election, chosen the young magister as their parson. Before, however, Zwingli could enter on his sacred office, he was destined to have a painful personal experience of the system of corruption under which his native country groaned. Henry Goeldli, the descendant of an aristocratical house, at this time Master of the Horse to the Pope, and a boon-companion of his Holiness, appeared with a papal letter of investiture for the place, although he was already in the possession of several livings. The community of Glarus maintained their right of election with success; yet Zwingli was obliged to indemnify the papal intruder with a sum of money, for renouncing claims that were totally groundless.

SECOND SECTION.

ZWINGLI PARSON IN GLARUS AND EINSIEDELN.
1506—1518.

“And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily.”—COL. iii. 23.

1. ZWINGLI'S ENTRANCE ON HIS CURACY, AND FIRST FIELD OF LABOUR.

ABOUT the end of the year 1506, our young priest, who had now reached his twenty-second year, set out again from Wildhaus, and crossed the Ammon to Wesen, where he visited his paternal uncle. From Wesen he pursued his way along the banks of the Linth, by a path which here winds between high and rocky mountains, to the chief town of the canton of Glarus. One noble resolve filled the soul of the ardent youth as he journeyed on: “*I will be true and upright before God in every situation of life in which the hand of the Lord may place me.*” “Hypocrisy and lying,” he writes, as the result of his early reflections, “are worse than stealing. Man is by nothing brought so much to resemble God as by truth. Lying is the beginning of all evil. Glorious is the truth, full of majesty, commanding even the respect of the wicked.”

Zwingli was profoundly sensible that the servant of God in the cure of souls must apply himself unremittingly to serious study, if he would guard his soul against the inroads of a low worldly-mindedness, and if he would proclaim the truth to his hearers with living conviction. “He became priest,” writes his friend Myconius, “and devoted himself with his whole soul to the search after divine truth, for he was well aware how much he must know to whom the flock of Christ is entrusted.” The Roman classics he continued to read with diligence, chiefly that they might be useful to him in his acquisition of truth, and in the development of his oratorical powers. As for truth itself, he went for it, and drew it with untiring industry, out of the peren-

nial stream of God's Word, where it flows in unmixed purity and freshness. Although he only knew holy Scripture as yet in the Latin version, he passed among his fellow priests for one who had a profound knowledge of the Bible. He well knew, however, and felt deeply, how small was the title he had to such a distinction. The efforts of Zwingli were directed, in the first years of his priesthood, along with the investigation of truth, to the development of his powers as a public speaker. The great orators of antiquity, those masters of eloquence, whom he regarded as unrivalled, were ever present to him, and the desire burned within him to work, with the power of oratory, in Switzerland, and in the cause of divine truth, yet greater wonders than these had ever wrought by their spirit-stirring harangues in Greece or Rome. In his parochial labours he directed his first attention to the young and their training. Under his influence, a Latin school was founded at Glarus, the guidance of which, in his ardent love, as well for youth as for learning, he took into his own hands. A band of young men, from the first families of the land, who, but for Zwingli, had probably sunk into a state of intellectual and moral degradation, were won over to the cause of science and nobler aims. He took to himself his younger brother James, whose education he superintended with brotherly affection. As soon as his Latin pupils were ripe for the High School, he sent them away either to Vienna, where, at the university of that city, the friend of his youth, Vadian, had risen to the rank of professor and rector, or to Basle, where Glarean, his friend, taught the High School, the excellent man boarding the students himself, that he might the better watch over their education and morals. But wherever his pupils went, they bore engraved on their hearts the memory of their first master, and maintained with him an unbroken correspondence. "Thou art to us like a guardian angel," so wrote Peter Tschudi from Paris to Zwingli, while his brother, Ægedius Tschudi, wrote to him, "Help, help me, that I may be recalled to thee, for nowhere do I like so well to dwell as near thyself." But with a still warmer affection, Valentine Tschudi, the cousin of these two young men, and Zwingli's successor at Glarus, clove to Zwingli. "Can I ever cease," thus wrote he, "to be grateful to thee for thy great benefits? On every occasion that I returned to my home, and

lately, in an especial manner, when I was four days suffering under fever, and again, when I left my books behind me in Basle, and when in timidity I feared to be burdensome to thee, thou sentest to me to come to thee, gavest me thy books, thy help, thy services. Ah! the whole benevolence of thy soul overflowed to me, and it was not in any general way that the rich treasures of thy learning were placed at my disposal, but with a special regard to my peculiar circumstances and necessities."

In this manner Zwingli wrought, counteracting the baleful influences of the time, by raising the standard of education, and it was in reference to his labours in this direction that one who at that period occupied the position of a monarch in the world of letters, Erasmus of Rotterdam, wrote to him: "All hail! say I, to the Swiss people, whom I have always admired, whose intellectual and moral qualities yourself, and men such as yourself, are training."

But his other duties were not neglected. Zwingli, while thus engaged in fostering education and learning, filled the office of preacher and watcher of the souls of men with a conscientious fidelity, which awakened in the bosoms of many pious fathers in the Church, who were witnesses of the zeal and ability with which he discharged the duties of his curacy, sanguine hopes that an age of piety and virtue was about to dawn once more upon Switzerland. He himself writes afterwards, in reference to the feelings with which he discharged these duties, "Young as I was," says he, "the office of the priesthood filled me with greater fear than joy, for this was ever present to me, that the blood of the sheep who perished through any neglect or guilt of mine would be required at my hands."

2. THE GREAT TEMPTATIONS AND TRIALS OF THE YOUNG PRIEST OF GLARUS.

Having made ourselves acquainted with the disposition, studies, and aims of the youthful priest, we shall now cast a glance at the field of labour in which the providence of God had placed him, and where great dangers threatened him. His parish embraced nearly a third of the canton of Glarus. A gross licentious-

ness of manners, with that fiery, martial spirit and heroic courage which had well proved themselves in the Burgundian and Suabian wars, characterised his parishioners, as indeed almost the whole Swiss population of the time. The sexual relations were in such a state of disorder that infringements of the seventh commandment ceased any longer to be visited with ecclesiastical censure, a circumstance the less to be wondered at since the clergy themselves led the way in the almost universal depravity of manners. The priest, who held in respect the marriage vows, who shunned to seduce unsuspecting innocence, or to violate the chastity of the consecrated nun, could hold up his head even as a man of honour and virtue, although stained with the grossest sensuality; for, verily, had he not sworn to the bishop, at his consecration, to preserve his chastity only so far as this were possible to human weakness. "It is a dangerous thing," says Zwingli, "for a young priest to have access, through the sanctity of his office, to young women, be they married or virgins. Let straw be kept from fire. Give the priest a wife; he would then, like any other honest man, concern himself with the care of his household, his wife, his child, and other affairs, whereby he would be freed from many trials and temptations." Zwingli himself, as he writes to his friend Utinger, with the greatest candour, had formed the resolution to live in this regard, as well as in every other, a holy life before God; but, alas, not finding one fellow-priest to share his sentiments and his resolve, much less to serve to him as an example and a beacon, he fell too before the inroad of fleshly lusts, as he himself, with deep pain and remorse, confessed, for he would not appear better than he really was. Yet his fall neither violated the sanctity of the marriage bed, which was always sacred in his eyes, nor ensnared virgin innocence, nor created any other source of bitterness. By prayer and diligent study he succeeded in subduing this enemy too, after in faith he had laid hold on Him who is mighty to save even in the weakest.

Yet from another quarter the tempter neared him, and sought to turn him from the high and holy walk he had set before him. Matthæus Schinner, from Wallis, a man of extraordinary powers, who had raised himself from the condition of herd-boy to be Bishop-prince of the land, and a Cardinal of the Romish Church,

acted then a part in Switzerland, as Papal emissary, most important indeed; but, at the same time, most pernicious. He had succeeded, by his arts, in attaching the Swiss to the interests of the papacy, so that these hardy mountaineers, for absolution, some deceitful promises, and but a scanty pay, lent themselves as tools to forward the ambitious plans of the Popes, Julius II. and Leo X. There was scarcely a man of weight in the country, whom the legate had not gained over to the papacy, by the glittering bait of some post of honour, or stipendiary payment. The noble form of the zealous and talented parson of Glarus, standing high in the esteem of his parishioners, caught the eye of the cunning legate. Zwingli, on account of his poverty, had not been able to purchase books sufficient to quench his keen thirst of knowledge. Schinner informed him the Pope had set apart an annual sum of fifty florins, in order that he might freely pursue his studies. In return, Zwingli's talents and energies were to be devoted to the Pope. Had he accepted this condition, the herd-boy of Toggenburg might well have climbed the ladder of papal promotion as high as the herd-boy of Wallis, the Bishop-prince and Cardinal, had done; and might, indeed, one day have boldly stretched out his hand to seize the triple crown. Let us hear from Zwingli in what spirit he received the Pope's liberality:—"I confess here, before God and all the world, my sin, (in drawing the above annual sum, which he did accept, and continued for some time to draw,) for before the year 1516 I hung mightily on the Roman power, and thought it highly becoming in me to take money from it, although I told the Romish ambassadors, in clear and express terms, when they exhorted me to preach nothing against the Pope, they were not to fancy that I, for their money, should withhold one iota of the truth, so they might take back, or give it, as they pleased." The Popes, however, and their Cardinals, had more at heart the supremacy of their policy than the victory of the truth, and they left Zwingli for the present in the undisturbed receipt of the above sum.

In the early part of 1513, a body of 20,000 men was raised by Schinner, in Switzerland, and led across the Alps, to drive the French out of Lombardy, of which they had taken possession under Louis XII. As the banner of Glarus was unfurled in this expedition, Zwingli was appointed, by an order of the magis-

tracy, and in conformity with the old Swiss custom, to follow the army as field-preacher. At one sweep Lombardy was cleared of the invaders, and the Duke Maximilian Sforza reinstated in his hereditary dominions, the duchy of Milan. After the fortunate issue of this campaign, a papal embassy presented, by the hand of Zwingli, the proud victors in the war with a richly gilt sword and a ducal hat, emblazoned with pearls and gold, over which the Holy Spirit hovered, in the form of a dove. At the same time, the honorary title was bestowed upon them of "Deliverers of the Church." The present was right welcome to the victorious Confederates, as well as the words which accompanied it—"they may ask what they will, the holiest shall not be denied them." The greater part begged they might be permitted to carry the image of the crucified Redeemer on their banners: the men of Glarus desired to carry that of the risen Saviour.

A second time Zwingli accompanied the Swiss army across the Alps. Francis, who followed Louis XII. on the throne of France, made a strong effort in 1515 to recover the lost province of Upper Italy to the French arms. As "defenders and deliverers of the Church," the Swiss marched against him at the summons of the Pope, and Zwingli appeared among his compatriots again as field-preacher. But on this occasion it became the policy of the King of France to cast the seeds of disunion in the Swiss ranks, by bribing some of the leaders. He succeeded in dividing the Swiss host, and in inducing a part of it, by a treaty struck between them and the king at Galera, the terms of which were in the highest degree disgraceful to the Swiss, to return home. Zwingli, who penetrated the false game that was playing, and perceived the mischief that brooded over his country, raised his voice loudly against the treaty, in a sermon which he preached to the army, in the square at Monza, on the 7th of September. He exhorted the assembled warriors to be true to each other—to union and watchfulness in the presence of their dangerous foe. "Had they followed him," says his friend Steiner, who shared the dangers of the campaign with him, "much mischief would have been prevented." But the warning voice of Zwingli was forgotten, and the treaty was signed, according to the terms of which, a part of the Swiss withdrew. A short time afterwards, the Swiss, who were much weakened by the loss of part of their

force, incited by the fiery Cardinal Schinner, imprudently joined in a skirmish with the French. In this skirmish the battle of Marignano took its origin, in which the Swiss on the first day maintained the field with a tremendous loss; but on the second day, being attacked by the French with fresh forces, they were beaten after a desperate stand, and forced to retire on Milan. Zwingli, according to the reports of eye-witnesses, displayed during the engagement striking proofs of personal courage, both by word and deed. His intrepid but serious behaviour, as well as his sermons, breathing at once zeal in behalf of the truth, and love for his native country, won for him the hearts of all the better Confederates. But while in the camp the preacher was fighting for the degenerate Church of Rome, a struggle was going forward in his own bosom which brought salvation both to Zwingli himself, and to Christ's blood-bought invisible Church.

Zwingli continued with increased zeal to study the Word of God, and with redoubled ardour after 1513, in which year he had acquired the knowledge of Greek. He acquired this language in a short time, without the aid of a master. So well, indeed, had he mastered its difficulties, that he could read not only the New Testament, but any of the Greek authors, with facility. He read the Fathers, and other interpreters of the Word of God, in order to penetrate the deeper into its sense. "I read the Doctors," he says himself, "as one asks a friend what he means." Perceiving, however, that the Holy Spirit alone can give the true meaning of the word which he himself has indited, he looked up to heaven, as Myconius tells us, for direction, and sought the aids of the Spirit; and as he wrestled with God in prayer, that He would bestow upon him the inestimable blessing of His Holy Spirit, it was granted to him ever more and more, to pierce into the sense of the Word. That he might not, under the semblance of the Spirit, take up what was false, he compared one passage with another, and interpreted the darker by the plainer, so that it was apparent to every one who heard him commenting on a difficult passage, that not man, but the Spirit himself was his teacher. One circumstance in itself shews with what earnest zeal he studied the Word of God, especially as contained in the New Testament. He copied, with his own hand, in Greek character, all the Epistles of Paul, for the sole reason that he might carry

them about with him in a portable shape, and learn them by heart. Thus he became, as Bullinger writes, perfectly conversant with Holy Scripture. The more, however, that he sunk his shaft into this mine, the more his eyes opened upon the corruptions which prevailed in the Church, and which disfigured his native country. The great ambition of the Church of Rome has been to pass off her splendid ritual, and her whole ceremonial worship, as a system of worship divinely revealed, which must remain for ever unchangeable. Zwingli discovered historical indications which spoke a different language from this. One day he happened to be in the parsonage at Mollis, in the company of his friend, parson Adam; the parson of Wesen, his former teacher at Basle, George Binzli, and parson Barschon, of Kerenzen, were there. Zwingli happened to light on an old Liturgy, in which stood the words: "Let the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the cup, with the blood of the Lord, be given to the child after baptism." "At this time," observed Zwingli, "the sacrament had been given in both kinds:" the liturgy was about 200 years old. In his Italian campaigns he had discovered at Milan a mass-book which differed from the Roman. This incident led our young inquirer to the following train of reflection. Either, thought he, Bishop Ambrosius, from whom the mass-book emanated, has made changes on the existing one, without his being visited with censure, or the Romish ritual has taken its present shape since the time of Ambrosius. In both cases, it is evident that the liturgy of the mass is the work of man, and subject to change. "The Word of God alone is eternal and unchangeable," thought Zwingli. A journey which he undertook to Basle, in 1514, had likewise a considerable influence on the intellectual and spiritual development of the future Reformer. Here he found a circle of learned and enlightened men assembled round Glarean, the friend of his youth, and around Erasmus, animated with the same endeavours, and breathing the same aspirations after truth as himself. These were struck with admiration at the ripeness of understanding, and boldness of thought, which marked the curate of Glarus, and entertained sanguine hopes that he would one day become a chosen instrument in the hand of God for effecting some great work. Zwingli derived certainty to his views, and firmness to his convictions, from an interchange of ideas with

these distinguished individuals, to whom also his heart was knit in the bonds of a strong friendship. Among the friends whom Zwingli gained on this occasion, and who remained true to him till death, were Beatus Rhenanus, of Schlettstadt, Nesen of Hessen, and Oswald Gaisshausler (Myconius), of Lucerne, whose fortunes soon after became united with his own. A poem of Erasmus, a man for whom Zwingli, ever after this meeting, expressed the highest esteem and love, made a remarkable impression upon him. "I shall," thus writes Zwingli in reference to it, in 1523, "not withhold from you, dear brethren in Christ, how it was I arrived at the conviction and firm faith, that we require no other mediator but Christ, and that none but Christ alone can mediate between God and man. I read, eight or nine years ago, a very comfortable poem of Erasmus, in which Jesus complains, in very beautiful words, that one does not seek all good from Him, who is the source of all good, the Saviour, the Comforter, the Guardian of the soul. Thereon I reflected, why do we seek help of the creature?" The more his heart was penetrated with truth from the throne of the Eternal, the more earnest and impassioned became his sermons. "He began now," writes Myconius, "after the example of Christ, to denounce from the pulpit certain base vices, which were then extremely prevalent, especially the taking of gifts from princes, and baleful mercenary wars; for he saw clearly that the doctrine of divine truth would never find an entrance until these sources of iniquity were closed. He proclaimed evangelical truth, without making any allusion to Romish errors, or with a very slight reference to them. He wished truth first to make its way to the hearts of his hearers, for, thought he, if the true be once comprehended, the false will be easily detected as such." Notwithstanding this wise moderation, he did not escape the charge of heresy; to which, indeed, he laid himself in some measure open, by publicly expressing his approval of several of the tenets of Picus of Mirandola, who desired a disputation upon them at Rome, and this Zwingli fearlessly did, although they had already met with a condemnation there. Many joined in this cry of heresy against the preacher of Glarus, who otherwise troubled their heads very little upon the subject of religion. These were such as had been bribed by the King of France to co-operate in bringing about an alliance be-

tween Switzerland and France, according to the terms of which the Swiss youth were to enter the French service. This was a new and most prolific source of corruption, against which Zwingli likewise thundered with all the force of his eloquence. But the animosity entertained by his enemies, and the calumnies which they vented against him, made him now sigh for another field on which to develop his activity. The then administrator of the cloister of Einsiedeln heard of the state of things at Glarus, and forthwith gave Zwingli a call to be his helper. Zwingli accepted this call for the two reasons, that the new charge would give him more time for study; and because he hoped that at this famous sanctuary, to which crowds of pilgrims repaired, from all parts of Switzerland and the neighbouring countries, he would be placed on a vantage-ground for proclaiming the words of life and of evangelical truth.

Deep mourning filled the hearts of the larger and better portion of the community of Glarus, when the resolution of Zwingli to abandon them was made known. In the hope that he might return to them, they appointed a vicar in his place, while they compelled Zwingli to retain both the title and the income of the charge. In the summer of 1516, Zwingli left Glarus, and came to Einsiedeln, where a new and a more extended sphere of usefulness opened upon him. Before we follow him thither, let us cast a glance at his spiritual development at this period of his history, as it is described by himself.

3. GLANCE AT ZWINGLI'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT ABOUT THE YEAR 1516.*

He says, "The following considerations I continually revolved in my mind, till at length the Holy Spirit confirmed in me that which He wrought in me:—

"We see, thought I, the whole of mankind striving, their lives long, after the attainment of future bliss, not perhaps directed to this pursuit so much from any natural impulse as from the instinct of self-preservation implanted in us by the Author of our being at our creation; yet the opinions are very various as to

* From the Archeteles, i.e., the beginning and end of the struggle.

how this great end is to be obtained. If we go to the philosophers, we find them disputing on this subject in a manner which makes us turn away from them with a feeling of disgust. If we seek for a solution of the problem from the Christians, we find here even a greater diversity of opinions than prevails among the heathen, for some are striving to reach the goal in the way of human tradition, and by the elements of this world (Col. ii. 8), *i.e.*, by their own and human opinions, while others are relying entirely on God's grace and promises; both the one and the other, however, are equally urgent that those who come to them for consolation should adopt their sentiments. Let us stand at this point now, where two roads cross, that is, where the opinions of Christians themselves cross. Whither now, I ask, shall I turn? Is the answer given, to men? Then I ask, to whom? To those who, at the origin of Christianity, were held wise, or to those who, shortly before my own time, have given a much greater exhibition of folly than wisdom? It will be said that I ought to follow the old guides, those who deserve the preference as such, as well by their antiquity as by their holy lives. But it may be said farther, even in these one finds much that is foreign to the evangelists and apostles, or that in fact contradicts them. With whom am I now to hold? Every one who is not altogether brutish or a fool will answer, With them whom the Spirit of God has enlightened; for whatever comes of human wisdom, be it decked out in ever so brilliant colours, may deceive; but divine wisdom can never deceive. Here is the true faith which man needs. Where it fails, man withers, falls, dies. While I was reflecting on this diversity of opinion in the earthen vessels, and praying to God that He would shew me an outlet to the state of uncertainty it produces, He says, Fool, dost not thou remember 'the word of the Lord abideth for ever?' hold to this. And again, 'heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away.' What is human, perishes; what is divine, is unchangeable. And, 'in vain they honour me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' As if God should square His truth according to our notions, and as if what at the first glance appears to us beautiful, noble, nay, even holy, should please Him too, and as if it were not much more our duty to hang on Him with our whole hearts, and not to cleave to our own opinions or

notions. For this cause I put every thing aside, and came to the point, that I would rely on no single thing, on no single word, so firmly as on that which comes from the mouth of the Lord. And as I saw poor mortals so far forgetting themselves and God as to make bold to give out their own as God's, nay, when I saw not a few requiring, in all seriousness, from the simple, that they should set their commands above God's, even although they should be in manifest contradiction to them, I began to weigh with myself, whether there were no means by which one might recognise what was human and what divine. Then the passage occurred to me, 'all is clear in the light,' in that light, to wit, which says, 'I am the light of the world, that lightens every man that cometh into the world;' and again, 'believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.' Seeking for the touchstone of truth, I find none other but 'that stone which is a stone of stumbling and the rock of offence' to all who, after the manner of the Pharisees, set their own commandments in the place of God's. I now began to test every doctrine by this test. Did I see that the touchstone gave back the same colour, or rather, that the doctrine could bear the brightness of the stone, I accepted it; if not, I cast it away. At length I brought it so far, that at the first touch of the stone I could tell what was false and adulterate, and from this time forward, no power, no threatenings, could bring me to place the like faith in the human, however it might puff itself up, or however admirable it might shew itself, as in the divine. Nay, if on any occasion an opinion different from, or contrary to, the Divine Word, were arbitrarily pressed upon me, I answered with the words of the apostle, 'We must obey God rather than man.' Thus those who valued highly their own opinions, but valued at a low rate, or not at all, the cause of Christ, held me in great suspicion, and formed a very low opinion of me. This, however, is the surest criterion that I please God, and their disesteem is wholesome to me, for the name of the Lord is never more glorified than when our name is evil spoken of by men; and if the body perish, we have this consolation, that *He* endues the soul with life everlasting."

4. ZWINGLI AT EINSIEDELN.

Thus we have seen Zwingli after a hard contest with the temptations of the flesh, and after a hard but prayerful striving after truth, at length attain to the rock-fast conviction, "*that the Word of God is the alone sure directory for faith and practice,*" and *Christ is our only salvation.* With this conviction, from which the blessed work of the Reformation itself has sprung, firmly implanted in his bosom, he went, in the summer of 1516, to Einsiedeln, where he commenced his career as a Reformer. The new society into which he was here introduced was, on the one hand, well fitted to confirm his already obtained convictions, and, on the other hand, to urge him to an activity proportioned to their depth and intensity. The then Abbot of the Cloister was Conrad of Rechberg, a pious, excellent, upright man, under whose monk's cloak beat as warm and generous a heart as ever throbbed under a coat of mail. In his youth he had been forced to join the monks, by selfish relatives, who paid him visits, now that he had risen to be Abbot-Prince of Einsiedeln. They did this with the view of obtaining from his position advantages to themselves. But the Abbot Conrad saw through their selfishness, and thus addressed them on one occasion:—"You have stuck a cowl upon my head to my soul's risk and peril, and I must be monk, while you ride about as country squires. Could not I have been Conry of Rechberg as well as one of you Jack or George of Rechberg, what's the difference, pray? But, my good people, since you have made a poor monk of me, don't come here begging anything, but just return the road by which you came." Once, when the visitators of his order waited upon him, and reproached him for not reading mass, and, generally, that he stood in the suspicion of making no great account of the mass, he answered,—“Although I am master here in my own convent, and could send you away with a very short answer, I shall, nevertheless, tell you plainly what I hold of the mass. If the Lord Jesus Christ be really in the host, I know not how very highly you esteem yourselves; one thing I know, that I, a poor monk, am not worthy to look upon Him, not to speak of offering Him up in sacrifice to the eternal God. If, however, He

be not present there, woe's me if I hold up bread to the people before the Lord our God, and call upon them to worship bread. Therefore, let me alone. I shall, if God will, so act and so preside over my God's house that I may be able to answer to myself before Him and the world. As I have no need of you, please to return the way you came: you are dismissed." When the learned men at his board would sometimes go into the depths of theological discussion, he would break in upon their discussions, with the exclamation, "What care I for your disputations? I say now, and I shall say at my latter end, like David, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy goodness, and enter not into judgment with thy servant.' I require to know nothing more than this." In his old age, he had retired entirely from the administration of the cloister, and committed it to Dr. Theobald of Geroldseck, a Suabian. This man, according to the statement of Myconius, was equally the friend of learning and piety, and made use of his position to gather round him a circle of learned and pious men, as chaplains, assistant pastors, and teachers, to whom leisure and means for pursuing their scientific studies were liberally granted. Zwingli was joyfully hailed by this select company; and it was not long before Theobald of Geroldseck, Francis Zink, and John Oechalin, became his firm friends, and were gained over by him to evangelical convictions. Zwingli himself, meantime, pierced deeper and deeper into the knowledge of the Word of God, and experienced in his own heart how precious and dear that saying is, "that Jesus Christ has come into the world to save sinners," and thus he grew, day by day, in Christian knowledge, and in faith. To his friends he gave the advice, they should study the Fathers for the better understanding of holy Scripture, as he had done himself; yet he added, "with God's grace, the day will soon come, that neither Jerome, nor any other, will be an authority in matters of faith," but *holy Scripture alone*. Soon the fruit appeared of the evangelic spirit which Zwingli had fanned at Einsiedeln. The administrator of Geroldseck announced to the cloister of Fahr, which stood under Einsiedeln, that, instead of daily drawling over the Latin mass-songs in their usual heedless manner, they were to read the New Testament in the German tongue; at the same time, that those who felt themselves burdened by the vows, had the liberty to return home to their relatives. The

others were to lead, true to their vows, a virtuous and holy life.

But it was chiefly as a preacher that Zwingli showed himself the Reformer at Einsiedeln. He prepared himself with care for the pulpit. He studied, first of all, in the original language, the section which ecclesiastical order prescribed to be read in Latin. He then commented upon the passage according to its sense, and made the practical application of it without suffering himself to be fettered in the least degree either by the dogmas or the prejudices of the Church. But with what holy indignation was the soul of the zealous preacher moved, in whom, from youth up, the fear of God had burned like a live coal from off God's holy altar, when he saw the new species of idolatry which was carried on under his very eyes.

Einsiedeln is the most frequented resort for pilgrims for the whole of southern Germany, Switzerland, and the eastern part of France. The cloister was built in the tenth century, to the honour of the Virgin, upon the site where, a century earlier, Meinrad of Hohenzollern is said to have inhabited an Einsiedler hut, where he is said to have died by a murderer's hand. At the midnight, so tradition says, immediately preceding the consecration of the newly erected church, the bishop of Constance was praying in it; suddenly, a heavenly hymn, sung by invisible spirits, resounded in the chapel. All kneeled and listened entranced. The next day, when the bishop was about to complete the consecration, three times a voice was heard proclaiming, "Hold, hold, brother, it is consecrated by God." Christ himself, so the legend runs, consecrated the Church during the night; angels, apostles, and saints sung the strains that were heard; while the Holy Virgin passed rapidly by the altar, like a flash of lightning. Leo VIII. forbade, in a bull, all doubt in the truth of this legend. In memory of this extraordinary circumstance, the festival of the Angel-Consecration is yearly celebrated with great splendour, a festival to which thousands of pilgrims betake themselves, in the vain dream they will here find complete absolution from the guilt and punishment due to sin; for the special bulls of several popes have added to the old privileges of the foundation the new one, that complete absolution is to be given to the pilgrims. Hence, over the gateway of the magnificent

abbey, stands, in legible characters, the blasphemous inscription, "Here is complete absolution for the guilt and punishment of sin." This, and the wonders which, according to public report, the picture of the Virgin, here carefully preserved, performs, which once the holy Hildegard, Abbess of the Lady Minster in Zurich, presented to the pious Meinrad, entice yearly a multitude of pilgrims to Einsiedeln, that they may obtain the pardon of their sins, and consolation and help in every time of need, from the Holy Virgin.

If this idle delusion served admirably towards the enriching of the cloister, and hence was carefully cherished and fostered by ordinary preachers, who magnified the efficiency of the absolution to be obtained, and the miraculous power of the adored Mary-picture, yet Zwingli had learned from the Word of God, and the Lord and Master whom he served, to proclaim a more consoling message from consecrated ground, even although he was to suffer for it. He writes, "Once for all, the spirit itself must be so consecrated to God, that it may hang inseparably on right, truth, and God, even to the loss of outward means, and life itself—once for all the die must be cast, and death looked steadily in the face, for the truth's sake, and the soul nerved against every attack of the flesh, the world, and Satan." He accordingly raised his voice against the delusions here practised under his eyes. His soul, indeed, burned with a holy indignation at the dishonour done to the name of God and the Saviour. He grieved for a people who, instead of finding forgiveness for their sins, entangled themselves faster and faster in the net of Satan.

"God," the preacher cried, "is everywhere present, and wherever we call upon Him in spirit and in truth, He answers us in the words, 'Here I am.' Those, then, who bind the grace of God to particular localities, are altogether foolish and perverse; nay, it is not only foolish and perverse so to do, but anti-Christian, for they represent the grace of God as more easily to be obtained, and cheaper, in one place than in another, which is nothing but to limit the grace of God, and take it captive, not letting it be known how free it is. God is in every part of the earth where He is called upon, present and ready to hear our prayers, and to help us. Wherefore Paul says, 'I will therefore that men pray everywhere, likewise also the women' (1 Tim. ii. 8, 9).

That is, we are to know that God is present and hears us when He is called upon, and that He is not more gracious in one place than in another. Finally, Christ calls such people as bind God to this or that place false Christians, that is Antichrist. 'For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, &c. &c. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not' (Matt. xxiv. 24-26). O God, who else is a hypocritical Christian but the pope, who exalts himself in the place of Christ, and says he has His power, so he binds God to Rome and other sanctuaries. Thus they bring money in enormous quantities to enrich holy places, which, in case of need, might well be applied to our temporal advantage. And just in such places is more wantonness and vice perpetrated than anywhere else. He who ascribes to man the power to forgive sins blasphemes God. And great evil has sprung from this source, so that some whose eyes the popes have blinded, have imagined they had their sins forgiven by sinful men. In this manner God himself has been hid from them. To ascribe to man the power to forgive sins is idolatry. What is idolatry, but the ascription of the divine honour to man, or the giving to the creature that which is God's?

"We do not dishonour," he goes on to say, "the mother of God, the Virgin Mary, when we teach that she ought not to be worshipped; but we dishonour her, indeed, when we ascribe to her the power and the majesty of the Creator. She herself would not suffer adoration to be paid to her. For piety is, in one and all, of the like kind and nature, for it springs from one and the same Spirit. Nor is it conceivable that any being can be at once pious, and admit the reception of divine honour. So it is with Mary, the mother of God; the more exalted she is above all creatures, and the more profound her reverence towards God, her Son, the more abhorrent will it be from her to receive honour as divine. Nay, verily, she will just as little suffer that we pay to her the honour which is her Son's, as Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. For if, in the heavens, there be the highest justice, then certainly none of the heavenly host can be filled with joy but with indignation, when the honour which is Christ's is ascribed to them. For Paul and Barnabas, when the people in Lystra held them as gods, and would do sacrifice to them, sprang in upon

them, crying out, 'O ye men, why do ye this? we are nothing but weak, mortal men, like yourselves.' What think you she would say, if she were witness this day that men sought from her that which it is alone God's to give? Think you not that the holy Mary would say, 'O! senseless, deluded men, all the honour I have comes from God? He has been gracious to me, and made me the virgin and the mother among all women. But I am no goddess, nor any source of blessing; God alone is that well, who has ordained that all good should come to you through my Son. By attributing to me that which alone is God's, ye poor mortals attempt to change the power and government of God. For verily, since the beginning of the world, He has given to no creature such a power as that any should flee to it for succour as if it were God. I am no god, therefore seek not from me that which is God's alone to give. When I was upon the earth my Son, who indeed loved and honoured me, bestowed on me none of His miraculous power. On the contrary, when I exhorted him, saying, the people have no wine, he gave me a strange answer, "Woman," said he, "what have I to do with thee?" This was done solely that the miracle might not be ascribed to me but to him. Therefore let God abide in his government and authority as it has been of old. Ye think ye honour me by worshipping me. Ye do greatly dishonour me. Worship is to be paid to none but the One living "and true God." Such, and the like, Mary would, without doubt, have said, and still say, if she were present in the midst of us. Therefore, let every one know that the highest honour we can show to Mary is to acknowledge the saving work of her Son, which he has wrought for us, poor sinners; to honour this work aright, and to apply to him for all grace. For God has set him as a propitiation for our sins by his blood, if so be we have faith in him as such. Yes, he who has this faith and trust in the Son of Mary, honours Mary the highest, for her honour is her Son's. And should I ask any one what is greatest in Mary, I know he must give me the answer, 'that she has born to us the Son of God, who has redeemed us.' If, then, her greatest honour is her Son, it is likewise her greatest honour that we rightly know Him, that we love Him above all things, and that we manifest our eternal gratitude to Him for the great act of mercy He has done for us, by redeeming us. For

the higher the honour and love of Christ rises among men, the more the esteem and honour of Mary rises, in so far that she has born to us so great and glorious a Redeemer. But if ye will especially honour the Virgin Mary, then follow her purity, her innocence, her steadfast faith. And when ye have prayed an Ave Maria, and pondered above all on the great work of our redemption, then reflect that she, who was endowed with so great grace and honour from God, was nevertheless poor, and subject to persecutions, pain, and misery; yet that in all these things she triumphed. And then comfort yourselves in your poverty, and low estate, and wretchedness, which you have in common with her, with the thought that such misery must certainly be the destiny of man, since even the holy mother of God was not exempt from it. But if ye be rich and happy, then you will humble yourselves when you look at her; you will be fearful, though joyful, be it your lot to give away or to suffer the loss of your wealth. For you must often reflect, has then the mother of God suffered these things; then who am I to raise myself above her? And by her faith all, both rich and poor, may have their own faith comforted, considering, Has the heart of the Virgin had such faith that no wretchedness, poverty, or rejection of her Son, which she daily witnessed, were able to turn her from him, so as to make her even once doubt in him? Oh! then may I call faithfully on the Lord that he would be pleased never to abandon me, but to increase my faith, so that I may never abandon him, but cleave to him even though the whole world should be against him."

Such was the burden of Zwingli's preaching at the festival of the Angel-Consecration, 1517, and at Pentecost, 1518, before great crowds of pilgrims. Great was the impression which it made upon the pilgrims. Some fled in terror from the scene, others hovered between the faith they had received from their fathers, and the doctrine they had now first heard, and which was to bring a new peace to their souls, others turned to Christ with their whole hearts, retaining the gifts they had brought to the Virgin. On the way back to their several lands and homes they proclaimed what they had heard at Einsiedeln—*the grace of God everywhere alike present; Christ, and not Mary, the only salvation*. Pilgrims as they heard this announcement on the way turned back without bringing their pilgrimage to a close. The

fame of Zwingli, the bold and uncompromising advocate of the truth, resounded through the towns and villages of Switzerland, Suabia, and Alsace, and prepared the hearts of many in these lands for the salvation-work to which the Lord his God had called him. In the multitude who heard the sermon delivered by Zwingli, in Pentecost 1518, on Luke v. 24, there was present, Dr. Hedio, then preacher at Basle, who was so deeply affected by the discourse of the preacher, that he begged of Zwingli to receive him into the number of his friends, or at least to let him be the shadow of one. Of the sermon he writes :—"It was beautiful, fundamental, dignified, comprehensive, searching, truly evangelical, reminding one, in force of language and of spirit, of the old Fathers of the Church." Meanwhile, the Mary-devotees decreased in number daily, and yet Zwingli was to live by their gifts ; but the poverty of Christ was dearer to him in the service of truth, than the riches of the world in the service of error. His friend, Geroldseck, after he had, through Zwingli, come to know Christ, was animated by the same spirit. "Never have you drawn back," Zwingli wrote to him afterwards, "once that you have laid your hand to the plough ; you are, indeed, the friend of all the learned, but me you have loved like a father, you have not only taken me into the number of your friends, but shared with me your heart. Go on as you have begun ; stand fast at the post in which God has placed you. God will finally lead you to the goal. None is crowned who has not first well fought."

But the eye of the Reformer was not confined to Einsiedeln, and the abuses there ; he looked abroad on the mighty tide of corruption which overspread the whole Church of Christ. In such terms as these he once addressed Cardinal Schinner : "Every one knows," says he, "that the faith and practice of Christians have, by a gradual declension, departed very widely from sound evangelical doctrine, and that it has gone so far as to be undeniable, that some very great reformation of laws and manners is absolutely necessary. If we give not vent to the water, the dam will be broken in by force." Again, the following was the language he held to Antonius Puccius, the Papal Legate of Switzerland, upon the subject of ecclesiastical reform : "I will openly declare, and before men who are still living, that ere dissension arose in the Church, I have both by word and deed witnessed to

mighty cardinals, prelates, and bishops, of the errors in doctrine which are abroad, and warned and counselled them to remove abuses, or that they themselves would perish in a more dreadful revolution. I have told the Cardinal von Sitten, at Einsiedeln, (in 1517), and afterwards many times at Zurich, in plain language, that the Papacy has a false foundation, and maintained it by plain unanswerable passages of Holy writ. The said cardinal, too, has often thus expressed himself to me: 'If God help me on the plank again,' (for he had then fallen into disgrace with the Pope,) 'I shall see to it that the arrogance and fraud of the Bishop of Rome be brought to light, and put an end to.'" Zwingli tells us, too, that he often talked this matter over with the Legate Puccius, who asked him what was to be done. "I told him," says Zwingli, "I was resolved from henceforward to preach the pure gospel to the people, without regard to the statutes of men, whereby, without doubt, the Papacy would not be a little shaken."

Zwingli's admonitions in the quarters above described were without effect. The adherents of Rome, who knew not the divine power of the gospel in the soul, still hoped to win over to their interests the talented and intrepid preacher of the truth. To his free and outspoken language Zwingli received a courteous and genuine Italian answer; he was, with the most flattering expressions, created an Acolyte-chaplain of the papal chair, in the following terms, "Distinguished by his virtues and great merits, he is recommended to him (the legate), as well through his own personal knowledge of him, as by the honourable report he has of him; he therefore deserves, in the eyes of the Pope and the holy apostolic chair, a recognition of his great learning, and some distinguished mark of paternal approbation." "Accordingly, he raises him, by the authority received from the Pope, to the honourable distinction of an Acolyte-chaplain of the Holy Father, whereby he might perceive the favour he was held in." He was counselled to go on advancing from good to better, and by his merits to incline the Pope and him (the legate), to farther testimonies of favour. The ladder was thus planted at the feet of the Reformer, by which he might mount to the highest honours the world had to bestow; but Zwingli chose the crown of thorns and the cross of Christ, before worldly glory. How little he hoped from Rome he showed by resigning at this time the small

annual salary he drew from the Pope, and it was only on the most pressing entreaty that he continued to draw it for a year or two after.

Finally, Zwingli, as a last resort, turned to the Bishop of Constance, Hugh von Landenberg, with the request he would stay the corruption of the Church in his own diocese, and recommend to his clergy the preaching of the pure gospel. This prelate had, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his bishopric, maintained strong language on the subject of the degeneracy of the Church, more particularly as this had its origin in the clergy themselves, so that Zwingli was led to believe he would go a step farther, and resort to practical measures to arrest the growing tendency to corruption. A circumstance encouraged him in the expectation that his warning voice would not be unheeded by the bishop. John Heigerlin, or Faber, who had studied with Zwingli at Vienna, and continued ever since to manifest the greatest esteem for the Reformer, had risen to be the bishop's general-vicar. But the Bishop of Constance showed as little will or power in the cause of church-reform as the Pope and his cardinals. God would have it, that this wholesome work should be performed by other instruments than by the lordly prelates of the degenerate Romish Church. Notwithstanding the failure of his efforts, Zwingli did not suffer himself to be dismayed, or to be turned aside from the path of reform on which he had entered. "*The papacy must fall*," said he to his friend Capito, who visited him at Einsiedeln, in 1517.

At this time Leo X. sat on the papal throne, a pope who required enormous sums of money to satiate at once his thirst for glory and passion for the fine arts. The Germans were to deliver these against papal absolution from their sins. In August 1518, a monk came bare-footed over the St. Gotthard, Samson by name, into Switzerland, who, with the like impudence as Tetzl in Saxony, offered his wares at a cheap rate. Schwyz was one of the first cantons on which the impudent hawker of unsanctified wares cast his eye. He began to proclaim: "I can forgive all sins; heaven and hell stand under my dominion; and I sell the merits of Jesus Christ to each and every one who is willing to pay in ready money for an absolution." This blasphemous announcement aroused the indignation of our Reformer, and he

lifted up his voice in denouncement of it. "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hath said, 'Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden'* (Matt. xi. 28). It is audacious folly and shameless impudence to say, 'Run to Rome, buy a ticket of absolution, give this to the monks, that to the priests; if you do so, then I pronounce you free of all sin.' No; Jesus Christ is the only sacrifice, the only gift, the alone way." The sermon of Zwingli had the effect that Samson was forced to quit the canton Schwyz without having transacted any business, and with the epithets of villain and rogue attached to his name.

But the hour had struck when Zwingli himself was to leave Einsiedeln, and betake himself to another sphere of usefulness. The faithful testimony that he had lifted up here and at Glarus for the honour of God and the alone salvation in Christ Jesus, found a warm recognition and admiration in the bosoms of all his serious contemporaries, while without doubt it stands recorded in the book of life. The number of his friends and admirers had increased from day to day in all parts of Switzerland and South Germany, whilst his older friends felt themselves more and more endeared to the man whose heart beat so loftily for God and the Saviour, and the weal of men. But not individuals alone, whole towns turned their eyes upon the preacher of evangelical truth, and desired to have him in their centre. First of all, the inhabitants of Winterthur sent him a call to the vacant charge in their town. But at the expressed desire of the people of Glarus, who still hoped he might return to them, he sent a refusal, and recommended in his place his friend Magister Dingauer, who was chosen, and who accepted the call. In the meantime, the office of Leut-priest, or parish priest, at the minster of Zurich, had become vacant, and there were not wanting those who, as Myconius mentions, worked night and day that he might be chosen to it. Without doubt, the authority for this statement himself, who had for a year past been a teacher in the minster school, belonged to the number of Zwingli's canvassers. "He," continues Myconius, "knew nothing of the matter, when, happening to be on a visit to Zurich, he was asked by one of the canons whether he had any desire to be a preacher of the Word of God in Zurich.

* These words Zwingli employed as a watchword for the friends of truth, and he prefixed them as a motto to all his writings.

‘Yes,’ replied Zwingli, ‘I have the desire, for there is reason to hope that if the grace of Christ be proclaimed from so renowned a place, and accepted there, the rest of Switzerland will follow the example.’” Many applied for the vacant office. Myconius canvassed in the name of his friend for it, and finally Zwingli was elected by the votes of seventeen out of the twenty-four canons, a result which was hailed with hearty joy by all the friends of truth. “The whole youth of Switzerland,” wrote Glarean from Paris, “rejoice, throw their caps into the air, especially the Zurichers. As for me, I have less cause to wish you joy than to express grief for my friends of Glarus.” Before entering on his new duties, he went to Glarus, and there, in the town-hall, in the presence of the assembled magistrates, he resigned the cure he still held in this place, to the universal regret of all good men. The community shewed the high esteem in which they held him, by electing, at his recommendation, his scholar and friend, Valenti Tschudi, as his successor. The Council of Schwyz gave him a mark of their regard at departing, presenting him with an official writing, in which, among other things, they said: “Although we are in part grieved by your departure from the midst of us at Einsiedeln, yet, on the other hand, we rejoice with you in all that ministers to your honour and advantage.” His friend Leo Jud was, at his recommendation, appointed his successor at Einsiedeln. Zwingli having thus, by these wise suggestions, taken measures for the carrying on of the good work commenced under his own immediate auspices in Glarus and Einsiedeln, bent his steps to Zurich about the end of the year 1518.

THIRD SECTION.

ZWINGLI'S ENTRANCE ON HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES AT ZURICH—
STYLE OF PREACHING—HIS DIFFICULTIES AND CONFLICTS—
HIS JOYS AND SORROWS—HIS STUDIES AND FRIENDS—FROM
1519-1523, OR TILL THE FIRST DISPUTATION ON RELIGION.

"Thy word is a light to my feet, and a lamp to my path."—PSALM cxix. 105.

1. ENTRANCE ON OFFICIAL DUTIES, AND STYLE OF PREACHING.

A GREY fog, one December morning, was lying on the lakes and vales of Switzerland, while the icy mountain-summits were glowing in the splendour of a sun just beginning to ascend a clear cerulean sky. In calm majesty he was sending his rays deeper and deeper into the abysses of the mountains, while the edges of the sea of fog in which they were enveloped were hemmed with a border of light ever expanding; at length his perpendicular rays dispersed the fog before his meridian brightness, disclosing, first of all, the church-towers, like fingers of God in the grey mist, pointing towards heaven; finally, every vestige of the fog has cleared away, and all nature stands glowing in the beams of the king of day. On such a morning as this Zwingli left the heights of Einsiedeln, to sail up the beautiful blue lake, towards his new sphere of labour. In the struggles of the morning sun with the cloudy vapours, he beheld an image of that conflict with the powers of darkness, which he himself was now hastening to wage. "As the heaven, peaceful and clear, encircles with its blue canopy high over head the whole earth, though lightnings and tempests be beneath; thus the truly wise man, the Christian, rises above all storms and tempests. If you weigh all you will find that the principle of good is stronger than that of evil, and that in the end virtue overcomes vice. True wisdom obtains the mastery over iniquity; for at the moment when this has

reached its culminating point, the divine power seizes it and hurls it into the abyss. Herein God shews his power."

Zwingli entered Zurich on the day of John the Evangelist, the 27th December, and took up his quarters at the hotel of the Hermit, where he was honourably entertained, as Bullinger tells us; for many of Zurich's best sons rejoiced in his election. Others, again, who had cause to fear his unbending firmness, and indomitable spirit, beheld with no great pleasure the bold preacher of the truth enter their town; for Zurich was, according to Bullinger, before the preaching of the gospel, like Corinth of old, in Greece. "There was," says he, "much immorality and licentiousness among the inhabitants, principally owing to the Confederate Diets being held there, to which many strangers came, along with the servants of the princes and nobles, who slept in the town." Immediately after his arrival, Zwingli proceeded to the chapter, where the prebendaries, under the presidency of their provost, Master Felix Frei, were assembled, to acquaint the new parish priest with the duties of his office, and formally to install him in it. Of the fourteen sections composing the address introductory to his installation, only the two shortest concerned that which Zwingli regarded as his chief duty, his preaching. But at great length, and in very urgent terms, the duty was impressed upon him, of looking after the maintenance and increase of the funds of the foundation. Zwingli, on his part, humbly tendered his thanks, in the first place, for the honour of his election to the vacant office. He then gave them plainly to understand, that it was his firm and decided intention to preach the history of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, according to the Gospel of Matthew, that the people might not, as hitherto, to the great dishonour of the name of God, and Him after whom they were called, know Jesus Christ by name only, while they were ignorant of the whole history of his life and redemption. He would, therefore, take up the whole of the Gospel of Matthew, and preach upon it verse by verse, and chapter by chapter, without regard to the commentaries of men, by which he would not be bound, but giving the sense, according as a laborious and prayerful investigation of the original Scriptures had enabled him to arrive at it. This he would do to the praise and glory of God and his only Son, for the salvation of the souls of men, and their up-building in the

true faith. This avowal filled with joy the Canons Uttinger, Engelhard, Walder and others, while it excited alarm and grief in the Provost Frei and the Canon Hoffmann: all felt themselves on the threshold of great events. Canon Hoffmann rose and expressed a wish that the election they had made would be followed by no bad results; such an exposition of Scripture to the people would, in his opinion, do more harm than good. Others warned the new priest against innovations which could result in nothing but evil. But Zwingli answered: this manner of preaching is not an innovation; it is the good old path, that has been trod by the Fathers of the Church, as might be very well seen in the Homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew, and the reflections of Augustine upon John. At the same time, he would see to it, to act in such a Christian spirit that no friend of truth should have any just ground of complaint against him. The matter was thus allowed to rest. On Sunday, the New-year's day of 1519, his thirty-sixth birth-day, Zwingli mounted the pulpit of the venerable minster, and proclaimed to a crowded congregation, "*that he would lead them to Christ, the true well of salvation, since His gospel was the power of God to salvation, to all them that believe.*" In this, his inaugural discourse, he repeated his resolution, which he had already expressed to the canons, to expound the gospel of Matthew, as well as occasionally another book of Holy Scripture in connection therewith. His external appearance made a favourable impression; for Zwingli, according to Bullinger, was a fine-looking man in form and figure, and he was now in the flower of manly age. "Let one," says Hagenbach, "only look at his portrait; let him observe this energetic, well-compacted head, this marked physiognomy, as if stone-carved, this expansive forehead, this full, clear eye, this compressed mouth, with the well-rounded lips." Lavater reads in this cast of countenance, "Earnestness, reflection, manly resolution, concentrated energy, a far-seeing, penetrating understanding." To a powerful frame of body, he added a well-modulated, deep-toned voice. In preaching he had an agreeable delivery, highly appropriate to the subject. His language was simple, popular, and dignified; in exposition it was clear and perspicuous, in administering discipline serious and fatherly, in warning urgent, coming home to the soul, in comforting warm and affectionate.

His distinguished oratorical powers, which had at their command the whole fulness of gospel truth, as it flowed to him through the channels of prayer and earnest application to God's Word, with a rapid insight into the practical affairs of life and the errors of the heart, he wielded with a manly resolution, and at the same time, with moderation and judgment. He magnified the glory and majesty of God the Father, taught that He alone was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and shewed that all men, without distinction, could obtain salvation in none other but in Christ. At the same time, he warned against every kind of superstition, of will-worship, and hypocrisy. With uplifted voice he preached repentance and amendment of life, the exercise of Christian charity and fidelity; he attacked with resolution the vices most spread amongst the people; he preached earnestly against inordinate expense in eating and drinking, and the wearing of fine clothes, against oppression of the poor, against mercenary wars, and the taking of gifts or bribes in the shape of pensions. Herein he spared neither pope nor emperor, king nor duke, princes nor nobles, not even the confederates themselves. All his discourse rested on the foundation of God's Word, which he explained and expounded, as he went along, and it was pervaded by the living conviction, that in the end, and by the help of God, truth and righteousness would gain the day over lying, error, hypocrisy, and vice. "All his comfort," says a contemporary, "was in God, in whom he trusted, and in whom he rejoiced; he exhorted the town of Zurich to place their trust in Him alone."*

Fearless and intrepid as Zwingli was in attacking with the sword of the Spirit prevailing corruptions, he had, at the same time, a tender and considerate regard for the intellectual and spiritual deficiencies of his hearers. The following are the principles which guided him in this respect. "Christ," says he, "praises very highly the faithful steward, who gave to the household of his lord their meat in due season (Matt. xxiv. 45). I set before me, therefore, so to divide the Word of God, that the Lord may have thereby the greatest fruit. Who is there who would not dismiss a servant who would plough and sow a field in the midst of the storms of winter? Spring is the proper time for this work. Thus

* This account of Zwingli's preaching is taken nearly word for word from the reports of several of his contemporaries and friends.

in what I announced, and what I withheld, I yielded much to the weak, but all for edification. I would not give strong meat at an unseasonable time, nor cast pearls before swine. I have preached clearly and fully, and constantly and earnestly inculcated upon the minds of my hearers, the true salvation, Christ Jesus himself, and taught them to expect all good from Him, to apply to Him in every strait. For if He hath suffered death for us, when we were yet enemies to Him, how can he possibly be angry with us now that we believe on Him. As Paul says, 'But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.'—(Rom. v. 8, 9). In this manner, I preached the free grace of God to my fellow-men, seeking to make it attractive to them, well knowing what God would work by his Word, if once it found entrance into their minds. Oftentimes have I so far given way to the weak and foolish-minded, that I have said to them, when they began to shew their captiousness, well then, bring your desires to the saints; I will spread out my case before God; let us see who has taken the best way. Thus I fed them with milk, till some of those who were most virulent against me, in the end gave themselves wholly to the Lord. For they felt in their own hearts how sweet the Lord is, and that every one who knows Him aright, must cry out with the disciples—'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life,' (John vi. 68.) 'I held him, and would not let him go,' (Song of Sol. iii. 4.) For he who has learned to know God aright, and has been led home by his hand like a strayed child, can never leave him; and though, by the force of bodily pains, the mouth were brought to deny him, yet the heart would still adhere to him; for it knows that God alone is its salvation, through Jesus Christ. And I tell those this day who preach the Word of God, and who preach it so as to draw salvation alone from it; that the trust in the one living and true God will go on to increase, while the trust in refuges of lies will decrease and decay; and since man must place his whole confidence in God, and in him alone, I had rather yield somewhat to human weakness than that the doctrine of Christ were altogether put aside. For, alas! there are some so ignorant of the truth, that they reject the doctrine of

Christ so soon as one convinces them of error. 'Tis thus that a hundred times I have often said to the more advanced Christians, I conjure you by Jesus Christ, and our common faith, that ye be not over hasty to propose any change, if for no other reason but this, that ye may prove that ye are Christians indeed by the patience with which ye bear, for the sake of the weak, that which, according to the strict law of Christ, ye ought not to bear."

This admirable union of heroic courage and indomitable resolution with moderation of temper, and a tender delicacy of feeling towards the weak, manifested in the preaching of Zwingli, and traceable, indeed, through the whole of his career, sits with such a grace on the ardent apostle of truth and righteousness, that we cannot but at once admire and love him. The man who was so firmly founded in the Word of God, that he could say, I am sure that this is the mind of God; and, though you threaten me with all the malice of Rome, with all the fire of *Ætna*, or of hell itself, I shall not budge from it, (See Part II., Book I.,) could yet admit to a boy, who recalled to his mind a false expression he had made use of in the pulpit, that he was wrong, saying to the critical youngster, "We can learn much from boys when they are sharp and attentive." In this manner, Zwingli gained all hearts that were receptive of the truth, refreshed them with heavenly manna, edified them with Christian wisdom, and trained them to spiritual discipline. At the hearing of his very first sermon, there were men who said, men namely who had entirely withdrawn from the services of the Church, on the ground that the sermons delivered there wanted the one thing needful, which the preacher himself had not learned, "God be praised, here is a preacher of the truth indeed; he will be our Moses, and will lead us out of Egypt." Another, Thomas Plater, reports, that once as he heard a sermon of Zwingli's, on the text, "I am the good Shepherd," (John x. 11.) "It was as if some one had dragged him to the preacher by the hair of his head." "Never," says Myconius, "had there been seen a priest in the pulpit with such an imposing appearance and commanding power, so that you were irresistibly led to believe that a man from the apostolic times was standing before you."

The town-people flocked in crowds to listen to him, and even the country-people were animated with an increased desire to hear

the pure Word of God from his lips. To meet the desires of the latter, Zwingli began, in 1520, to preach on the Psalms, each Friday, the market-day in Zurich, when crowds came in from the country, in a similar manner as he did on a book of the New Testament every Sabbath. In this manner the leaven of the gospel was carefully hid in the hearts of the Christian people, both in town and country, in joyful confidence in God that he would cause it to penetrate and transform the mass. With what success the preaching of the gospel was accompanied, a letter of Zwingli's to Myconius, under date 31st December 1519, clearly shews, in which he reports to that friend, that at Zurich upwards of 2000 souls had been already so strengthened and nourished by the milk of evangelic truth, that they could now bear stronger food, and anxiously longed for it. Zwingli describes, in a very touching manner, the change wrought upon these people, both in their modes of thinking, and in their whole walk and conversation, (Part II., Book II. 4.) Nay, the majority of the Town-Council of Zurich itself had made such an advance through the preaching of Zwingli that, as early as 1520, they issued a mandate to the parish priests, curates, and predicants, in town and country, "that they should freely and everywhere preach the holy gospels, and the epistles of the holy apostles, and that they should all speak the same language as the Spirit of God should direct them, and the inspired text of both Testaments, and that they should only promulgate and teach that which they could prove and establish by the said Word of God. But as for the doctrines and commandments that were of man's institution, they should let them alone." This ordinance was the first great victory which the preaching of the gospel publicly celebrated in Zurich.

Yet it was easier to issue such orders than to find men who were willing and able to obey them. Zwingli felt this too, and hence his efforts were directed to draw men of evangelical faith to Zurich, men both able and willing to undertake the preaching of the true Word of God. Zwingli, finding the curates, at his arrival in Zurich, men who could be of little service to him, and indeed who had no desire to assist him, had they been able, took into his own house two excellent youths, George Stacheli, from the canton Schwyz, and Henry Luti, from the Lake of Zurich, whom he boarded at his own table. These young men shared

his labours (for during the first two years he regularly read mass, and sedulously performed all his official duties), and enabled him to overtake the laborious work of a parish which embraced the greater half of the city, and the surrounding villages. With their assistance he obtained leisure to bestow a greater degree of care upon his sermons. The parson at St. Peter's in Zurich, Ralph Roeschli, having received his dismissal in the course of the year 1522, Zwingli induced his friend Leo Jud, to come from Einsiedeln, and preach in St. Peter's. He gave such satisfaction to the parishioners that they immediately elected him. Thus the two friends, who sat together at the feet of their venerated instructor, Dr. Wittenbach, in Basle, were again united, and remained united in the service of their Lord and Master till the rude hand of death parted them.

In the first four years of his labours at Zurich, Zwingli, as he himself tells us, expounded the following books of the New Testament. "At my arrival at Zurich," said he, "I began with the exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and then passed to the Acts of the Apostles, in order to make my hearers acquainted with the extension and spread of the gospel in the first ages. The first Epistle to Timothy then followed, to their great profit, for this epistle sets forth to the true Christian the rules to guide him in his walk and conversation. As the doctrine of truth had been sadly disfigured by sophistical teachers, I postponed the second Epistle to Timothy till I had gone through that to the Galatians,—and then I returned to the former—to shew to the people Paul's great merits, and his high value as an apostle, in opposition to the false doctors who depreciated him—false doctors, who gave out for piety what no man could possibly take offence at. Who then is this Paul? say they. Is he not a man? An apostle, indeed, but of lesser magnitude; none of the twelve; he was never in the company of Christ, he has laid down no articles of faith. I put no more faith in Paul than in Thomas, or in Scotus,* such is their language. I then let the two Epistles of Peter follow the second Epistle to Timothy, to shew the despisers

* Thomas Aquino (born 1224, died 1274), and Johannes Scotus, (died 804), two schoolmen of the middle ages, who, more than all others, contributed to develop and confirm the errors of a church that had departed from the simplicity of God's Word; hence they were held in peculiar veneration by the Romanists, especially the monks.

of Paul that both apostles were inspired by the same Spirit, and that both taught the same things. I then began the Epistle to the Hebrews, to awaken the minds of my hearers to the mercy displayed in the mission of Jesus Christ in all its extent. Here they were to learn that Christ is our alone true High-priest, and they learned this lesson well. That was the seed I sowed; Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter, have watered it; but God caused it to thrive nobly, and bear fruit, and this I declare, not as if I sought mine own and not Christ's honour. Go, and maintain if you can, that it has not been planted by the heavenly Father."

The above may suffice as a sketch of Zwingli's preaching during the first years of his labours at Zurich; for farther satisfaction on this head, I refer to the 1st Book of the 2d Part, which consists of a sermon that Zwingli delivered in the Church of the Cloister, Selnau, in the summer of the year 1522. This sermon affords a good example of his style, and at the same time develops his ideas regarding the fundamental doctrine of the Word of God, and his application of it to life and practice.

2. ZWINGLI'S LABOURS AS A PATRIOT, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO THE EVILS OF FOREIGN MILITARY SERVICE.

It has been already stated, that Zwingli's chief motive for removing from Einsiedeln to Zurich, the capital of the Confederacy, was his desire, from this central point, to work through the preaching of the Word towards the religious and moral reformation of his country, for patriotism from his childhood filled his whole soul, and gave him ever a ready and tangible object for the exertion of his powers. "Next to my concern for the Word of God," he writes, "the interests of the Confederacy lie nearest my heart. For the longing desire of my heart, and the great object of my teaching, has been the preservation of the Confederacy, that it might remain, as handed down to us from our fathers, true to itself, and free from service under foreign masters, and that the members of it might live together in peace and friendship." At the period of his entrance into public life, his country was groaning under the evils and disorders introduced by mercenary warfare and its consequences. Zwingli lifted up

his voice energetically against this crying evil. "Our fathers," said he, "conquered their enemies, and won their freedom, relying on no other arm but the arm of the Almighty,* and they were ready at all times to recognise His intervention in their behalf, in gratitude and praise, as the children of Israel did, who, after their redemption out of the hand of Pharaoh, and their passage of the Red Sea, sang praises to Jehovah. 'I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation,' *Exod. xv. 1, 2.* Our ancestors took no wages to slay their fellow-Christians, but they fought alone for their independence, and the freedom of themselves, their wives, and children, from the yoke of a haughty and wanton aristocracy. Therefore, God gave the victory into their hands, increased them in honour and wealth, so that there was no master that could subdue them, however strong he might be. Such glorious results, however, were accomplished by no human agency, but alone through the power and grace of God. Now, however, we have begun to please ourselves, and to esteem ourselves wise in that which is God's, as, indeed, man often does. Now, when they have got loaded with this world's riches† and glory, they rebel against God, and become arrogant. 'But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked,' *Deut. xxxii. 15.* 'Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness,' *Psalms lii. 7.* Think ye not that loss and shame will be our portion from the Lord if we thus magnify our own name, saying, 'We have done this! We shall do that! No man may withstand us!' As if we had 'made a covenant with death, and with hell were at an agreement,' as *Isaiah* says, *chap. xxviii.* and as if no man could harm us. Thus some amongst us, being led away to forget themselves, and God himself, by the force of

* The Swiss, in old times, began their battles with prayer; and, when they gained the victory, they fell upon their knees, and thanked God for his help. The monuments with which they commemorated battle-fields were houses of prayer, or chapels.

† By their victory over Charles the Bold, and the plundering of his camps, the Swiss obtained vast riches. This begat a love of luxury and pomp, which drew farther nourishment from the pay and pensions they received in foreign service.

evil passions, the devil, the great enemy of all the good, like the serpent at the creation, has stirred up foreign lords,* who have spoken thus to us: Ye strong heroes ought not to remain in your land and in your mountains. What will you with this bleak land? Serve us for gold, ye will thus gain a great name, and much wealth, and your valour will be known to men, and be feared. In a similar strain spake the devil to Eve by the serpent.

"Against all such promises Solomon warns us, saying, 'An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour' (Prov. xi. 9.) In this manner, they, (the foreign lords,) have so wheedled and enticed us, simple Confederates, seeking their own profit, that at length they have brought us into such danger and disagreement between ourselves, that we, not regarding our fatherland, have more care how to maintain them in their wealth and power, than to defend our own houses, wives, and children. And this were less, had we not shame and damage out of this pact. We have at Naples, at Nivarre, and Milan, suffered greater loss in the service of these masters than since we have been a Confederacy; in our own wars we have been ever conquerors, in foreign wars often vanquished; such evils, it is to be feared, have been brought about by those who seek more their own private gain than the true interests of their country.

"But now, from this cause, there arises to the community at home the great misfortune, that avarice, wantonness, insolence, and disobedience, more and more gain the ascendancy, if we shall not take other measures, and open our eyes, so as to prevent the dangers that threaten us. The *first and great danger* is this, that we thereby draw down upon us the wrath of God; for his Word says:—'And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage.' (Micah ii. 2.) Ye have thrown a cloak over the eyes of the people, and led away the simple to the war. Ye have drawn away the women from their homes. Therefore the Lord speaks these words:—'Behold, against this family do I devise an evil, from which ye shall not remove your necks; neither shall ye go haughtily: for this time

* At that time, the Pope, the Emperor, the French, the Spanish, the English, Venice, Milan, Savoy, canvassed the Swiss, through their ambassadors, for their military service, and poured their gold into the country.—BULLINGER.

is evil' (Micah ii. 3.) These words are clear enough, in which the prophet declares the iniquity of war, and the threatenings of the wrath of God. Let each one for himself reflect on the evils of war, and think how it would be with him if he were treated in the manner in which we use our fellow Christians. Think, now that a foreign mercenary came into thy land with violence, laid waste thy meads, thy fields, thy vineyards, drove off thy cattle, bound thy house-furniture together and carted it away, slew thy son in the attack, who would defend himself and thee, violated the chastity of thy daughters, kicked with his feet the dear wife of thy bosom, who went before thee, and fell down at the feet of this foreign soldier, begging mercy for thee and herself, dragged out thyself, pious, worthy, old man, even in thine own house and home, from the place where thou wert crouching in fear, knocked thee down in presence of thy wife, despite her cries, and despite thine own trembling, venerable, pleading grey hairs, and then at last set fire to thy dwelling, and burned it to the ground ; wouldst thou not think within thyself, if the heaven did not open and spit fire on such villany, if the earth did not yawn and swallow up such monsters, there were no God ? And yet thou doest all this to another, and callest it, forsooth, *the right of war* !

"Those who, for truth, religion, justice, and native country, venture their lives in war, are true men, and their cause is sacred. But as for those blood-thirsty, mercenary soldiers, who take the field for gain, of whom the world is now full, and those wars which princes carry on, from day to day, out of lust of power, filling the earth with bloodshed, I, for my part, not only cannot approve them, but I believe there is nothing more wicked and criminal, and have the opinion that such men deserve to be branded as highway robbers, and that they are unworthy of the name of Christians.

"The *second* danger that threatens us from the foreign lords and their wars is, that justice between man and man is stopped ; as an old proverb says, 'When arms are up in the hands, laws are under the feet.' The term '*right of war*' means nothing but *violence*, use it as you will, turn it over as you will. Yet it is objected,—force must be employed to reduce the disobedient, if they refuse to yield obedience to things lawful and right. Yea, verily, it were good it went no farther, and that the thunder-bolt of war struck these alone, and that each forced only the dis-

obedient to obedience in things lawful. But what sayest thou of the man who takes money and helps a foreign master to plunder, lay waste, rob those who have done him no injury whatever, nay, who carries his sword to such masters, whom it does not become to go to war at all, bishops, popes, abbots, and this, too, for vile money? Farther, the foreign lords do prejudice to the cause of justice, in so far that their gifts blind the eyes of every man, be he as wise as you will, and deprive him of his reason as well as of his piety; as Moses teaches, 'A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous,' (Deut. xvi. 19.)

"The *third* danger is, that, with foreign money and foreign wars, our manners will become corrupted and debased. This we see very clearly, for our people have never returned from the foreign wars without bringing something new in clothes for themselves and their wives, or without importing home some new extravagance in eating and drinking, some new oaths; the bad they see and learn with readiness, so that we have reason to fear if these wars be not desisted from, we shall be inundated with still worse evils. The morality of the women, too, is corrupted. A woman is a weak creature, and desirous of new, handsome things, ornaments, fine clothes, jewels, (as we see in Dinah, who went to Sechem out of curiosity, and was there humbled,) and when such like things are made to flash in their eyes, and offered to them, think you that they will not be moved by these things, and that the temptation will not be too strong for them? It is to be feared, too, that, in time, the number of the males will be diminished, although, as yet, this has been less noticeable. But, at least, they are unmanned by luxury. Now no one will work to obtain a living, the lands are out of cultivation, and lie waste in many places, because labourers are not to be got, although there be people enough, and a land that could well nourish us all. If it bear not cinnamon, ginger, malmsey, cloves, oranges, silk, and other such dainties for the palate, it bears at least butter, milk, horses, sheep, cattle, lint, wine, and corn, and that to the full, so that we can rear a fine strong race of men, and as to what we want in our own country we can obtain it elsewhere against our own produce. That we do not hold to this, comes from the selfishness that has been introduced among us, and which leads us off from labour to idleness. And yet, to work is noble; it saves from wantonness and vice, it yields good fruit, so that a man

can richly nourish his body without care, and without the fear that he sully himself with the blood of the innocent, and live by it. It makes the body, too, hale and strong, dissipates diseases, engendered by idleness, and last of all, fruit and increase follow the hand of the worker, as creation itself came from the hand of the all-working God at the beginning, so that, in external things, there is nothing in the universe so like God as the worker. It is to selfishness we owe it, that all our strength and power, which ought to defend our country, are consumed in the service of foreign masters. Behold how unlike we are to our ancestors ! These would not suffer foreign masters in their land, but now we lead them in amongst us by the hand, if they have but money, that some may get hold of the money, while many get the stripes. And when a pious man has brought up a well-doing son, then come the captains and steal him away, and he must expose himself to the danger of dying of hunger, disease, murder, shot, or wounds. And if he reckon up his bargained money, he will find he could have won more by thrashing, without speaking of his being run through the body with a spear ere the account comes to be paid ; and last of all, his poor old father that brought him up, and whom he should have maintained in his old age, is reduced to carry the beggar's staff. But those who get the money want for nothing. They force us into alliances with foreign masters, but only after they themselves have been bought over by heavy bribes. And, when it comes to loss, your neighbour or your neighbour's son must bear it, while they come off scot free. And although it stands in the conditions, that none is to be forced, yet recruiting parties spread themselves over the whole land, and then it is seen what young blood will do when it is up. And with the remuneration, it is to be taken into account that those who get the largest bribes conceal them, but these living in riot and expense, another, who thinks he cannot be less than they, goes to the like expense. And if he cannot afford this, then he is at the mercy of the briber, who at last takes his vineyard, fields, and meadows. Then he helps him to a small pension, on which he cannot live, and so, having lost his all, he must in the end face war and wounds for a wretched pay. In this manner we lose our best sons, who, for vile money, are consumed in a foreign land. But few, indeed, become rich, but these so rich that they might buy off the rest.

"The *fourth* danger is, that the gifts of the foreign lords breed hatred and distrust among us. The Almighty granted to our ancestors grace and favour in His sight, so that they freed themselves from a tyrannous nobility, and lived in concord with one another. They prospered; while right and justice were so well administered in this land, that all who were oppressed in foreign countries fled hither, as to an asylum of safety. Then fear seized the hearts of the princes, who would not themselves act justly, and who yet stood in awe of our bold and unflinching attitude. But seeing that the Lord was strong on our side, so that they could not overcome us by force, they seduced us by the bait of bribes, and reduced us by enslaving us first to selfishness. They laid their schemes, and considered that if one of us were to see a friend or a neighbour suddenly growing rich, without any trade or profession, and living at his ease in riches, he too would be stirred up, in order that he might dress finely, live in idleness, carousing, and wantonness, like his neighbour, to hunt after riches (for all men incline naturally against work and towards idleness), and that, if the like riches were not vouchsafed to him, that he would join himself to the ranks of their opponents; that in this manner disunion would be created, so that father should be against son, brother against brother, friend against friend, neighbour against neighbour, and then that the kingdom, as the Son of God himself says, thus divided against itself, would not stand, and there would be an end of the Confederacy. This was what they calculated upon. Envy is the natural accompaniment of prosperity, so that where there is good fortune there is also ill-will. How much, then, must envy and hatred be stirred up, when one member of the community is so far privileged above the other as I have described? But when the hour of danger arrives, is not one true man as good as another? nay, do not the poor often fight for their country with more bravery and resolution than the rich? Out of such envy, then, springs the disunion and ill-will of those who say, 'Go thou forward, do this and that; thou hast taken more money, take also more blows.' Do ye not perceive that the counsel of these foreign masters has answered well the end they had in view, at least in part? The seeds of selfishness have been sown in the land, and discord is the crop. Therefore the great love that from childhood I have

borne to my native country, compels me to make my cares in regard to this its state known, lest greater mischief befall us, and that we may return from our folly while this is possible, and before the evil become altogether incurable. If not, there is ground to fear that the lords whom we beat with iron and halbert, will vanquish us with the touch of gold.

"And if any one should inquire, How are we to deliver ourselves from these evils, and return again to union? I answer, By abstaining from *selfishness*. For, if this base passion did not reign among us, the Confederacy were more a union of brothers than of confederates. If one rejoins to this, Selfishness is implanted in the human heart, from whence it cannot be eradicated, for God alone can know and change the heart; then I answer: Do earnestly that which lies in your power. Where you find it punishable, punish it, and let it not grow. And that it may be extirpated out of the very hearts of men, give heed that the divine word be faithfully preached. For where God is not in the heart, there is nothing but the man himself. Where there is nothing but the man himself, he cares for nothing but that which serves to his interests, pleasures, and lusts. But when God possesses the heart, then man has regard to that which pleases God, seeks the honour of God, and the profit of his fellow man. Now, the knowledge of God can come to us in no way clearer than from the Word of God. Will you, then, have the knowledge of God spread among you, so that you may live in peace, and in the fear of God? then see to it that the Word of God is purely preached, according to its natural sense, unadulterated by the glosses and inventions of man."

Thus Zwingli saw in the preaching of the Word the only remedy for the distractions of his country. Manfully, with this two-edged sword of the Spirit, he fought against the alliances with foreign princes, and against those mercenary wars, from which all the evils under which his native country groaned arose. Zwingli's position and his labours in behalf of his native country at this juncture, resemble those of the prophets under the Old Testament dispensation, who lifted up their voices in great emergencies, and thundered against declensions in Israel. Though his counsels were not always followed, he yet accomplished great things by the celestial weapon he wielded with such power.

Shortly after he commenced his labours at Zurich, the imperial throne of Germany fell to be filled up by election, through the death of the emperor, Maximilian I. Two foreign potentates, Charles I. of Spain and Francis I. of France, set all the machinery of bribery and intrigue at work to obtain for themselves this high dignity. The Confederates, instigated by the untiring Cardinal Schinner, mixed themselves up in the election, and sent a letter to the electors, advising them to choose Charles. Zwingli, however, was opposed to any interference on the part of Switzerland in this matter, and saw with prophetic glance the dangers to the cause of the Gospel that must arise from the election of Charles I. "Charles," said he, "is a young prince; the Spaniards a people ambitious of conquest, restless, proud. The Germans have no need to call from the distance so mighty a prince to reign over them, and thus recklessly put their necks under a foreign yoke." He believed that this prince would be bold enough to subject the whole German people under some specious pretext or another, and to deprive them of the Word of God. How rightly he foresaw the danger, the result shewed.

Just as determined was he against using any influence in favour of Francis. This young warlike monarch sought to conclude a new treaty with the Swiss, according to which the Swiss youth were to enter his service against the pope and emperor. This treaty was presented to the acceptance of the Swiss people in the usual corrupt fashion, namely, by the bribing of influential individuals in a canton, which process was so successful that canton after canton joined the French alliance. Only Zurich this time made an exception. In this canton a new power had arisen, the preaching of the Word of God, which baffled French intrigue, and disappointed French bribery. Zwingli's sermons, among the majority of the council and the people generally, had awakened the conscience, and roused a new description of patriotism, a patriotism that drew its nourishment and strength from the Word of God, and now celebrated a glorious victory over a selfishness and a profligacy that leant themselves on the arm of foreign power. The Council, in a letter which they addressed to the peasantry, and which wholly breathed the mind of Zwingli, and probably came from his pen, inquired what their views were on the subject. One voice answered from the whole

canton ; the government should, according to the principles of their forefathers, have nothing to do with foreign lords.

Putting their whole confidence in God, the government of Zurich resolved to abstain from entering into the alliance with France, and they thereby drew upon themselves, and especially on Zwingli, who was with justice looked upon as the prime author of this resolution, the hatred and vituperation of the other cantons, and of all the venal who were inclined to the foreign military service, both in and out of Zurich. This enmity was increased by the following circumstance. In the summer of 1521, the Pope desired, through Cardinal Schinner, the aid of Swiss troops, ostensibly for the defence of the States of the Church, (to which the Confederates had bound themselves by the papal alliance of 1515), but really in combination with the Emperor, to drive the French out of Upper Italy. The other cantons refused to accede to the papal request; Zurich, however, after receiving from the Cardinal the assurance that the troops would only be employed in the defence of the States of the Church, believed itself bound to grant the required aid, although Zwingli spoke strongly against it. "What," said he, "a people have once promised to do, they are bound to perform; but if God shows a way of escape from an alliance, they are at liberty to avail themselves of it, and take care not to enter into such again." Zwingli believed this way of escape existed, because the Cardinal had employed intriguing and bribery to gain his end, which in the treaty were expressly forbidden. "I would," said he, "that the papal treaty had had a hole burnt in it, and the papal legate were bound on a board with his back to it, and carried home. If a wolf comes into a land, every one is up to kill the beast, or to drive it away; but against the wolves that devour the people no man will fight." "They (the Romish Cardinals), are very properly dressed in red caps and mantles; for, if be they shaken, then out drop ducats and crowns; but if they be wrung, then out flows the blood of thy son, brother, father, and friend." Zwingli's warning was this time baulked of its effect through the cunning of the legate. The latter was of opinion; the affair must be precipitated before the parson (Zwingli) came again into the pulpit. The Zurichers marched to the assistance of the Pope, the other Confederates marched to that of the King of France.

The French and the Confederates were beaten by the united papal and imperial army, but without the co-operation of the Zurichers. In this defeat there was a new ground of animosity against Zurich and against Zwingli, although he had spoken against the expedition. At the instance of Zwingli, clergy and laity, magistrates and citizens, were brought to take an oath from henceforward to accept no longer presents, gifts, or annuities, from foreign princes. He himself, in 1520, in a letter under his own hand, resigned his yearly sum he had been in the habit of drawing, although at that very time he was in very straitened circumstances, owing to the smallness of the income he derived from his living.

Thus Zwingli succeeded, by the power of the Word of God, in freeing Zurich from the fetters of selfishness and foreign influence, which pressed on the energies of the people, and in reviving that confidence in God which had once animated Switzerland. What zeal inspired him in this work, the following words shew: "After I had seen that God prevailed by His Word, and disposed the minds of men to peace, I would indeed have acted foully by the good people, had I not perseveringly pressed for peace, and a Christian life and walk, seeing so clearly as I did, the good work daily increasing before my eyes. Whatever lies may be told, the sole cause of the abolition of mercenary service under foreign princes in the canton of Zurich, in town and country, was *the Word of God.*"

3. ZWINGLI'S LABOURS IN THE REFORMATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL ABUSES.

The like manly zeal and resolution, restrained by moderation, and softened by tenderness, which Zwingli manifested in the preaching of the gospel, he shewed also in his labours to reform the abuses that prevailed in the Church. He regarded himself, from a very early period, as an instrument in the hand of God, who was never, except at an intimation or call from Him, to step in, and who must not prematurely, according to his own ideas, precipitate the work of God. "God knows," are his words, "what time is the fittest for every affair and for every undertaking. He demands from thee labour and industry, He himself working,

and bringing all to pass. Seek thou only to advance His glory, and thou wilt not fail in thy object. God humbles us, and exercises us, accomplishing all things, according to His own, and not according to our will."

God had endowed Zwingli with all the gifts that were necessary to successful operation. He was a true Christian, and a true Republican. The equality of all men was not with him an empty sound; it was indelibly engraved on the tablets of his heart, and from thence transcribed into his life. He had neither the pharisaical hauteur, nor the monkish acerbity, equally distasteful to poor and rich. One felt himself drawn to him and eagerly enjoyed his conversation. He was powerful in the pulpit, friendly towards all whom he met in the streets or the market-place; often he sat down in the inns in which the guilds assembled, where he might be seen explaining to the citizens the chief points of Christian doctrine, or entering into familiar conversation with them. Peasants and patricians were alike to him. One of his bitterest enemies reports of him: "He invited the country folk to his table, went about walking with them, spoke to them of God, made the devil go into their hearts, and his writings into their pockets. He even induced the Council itself to wait upon these peasants; they pledged them, went about the town with them and shewed them attention. Thus Zwingli's popularity increased; one day found him at the poor man's board, another at the banquet of the rich, as was the practice of the Lord himself, and by such means as these he succeeded in accomplishing the work to which God had called him."*

An opportunity soon presented itself for his interference against a dreadful abuse which was practised in name of the Head of the Church. The notorious absolution-monger, Samson, after having driven a prosperous trade on a journey through Lucerne, Berne, and Baden, with his nefarious wares, came now to Zurich, in order there to dispose of his letters of absolution with his accustomed impudence. This shameless Italian monk already met at Bremgarten with an opposition which he had not expected. The Dean, Henry Bullinger, father of the celebrated historian, and Zwingli's successor at Zurich, opposed the monk, and refused to allow him to offer his wares in the church of Bremgarten, on the ground

* Merle d'Aubigné's History of the Reformation.

that the papal letter which granted him the full power to sell indulgences, and which Samson, in the carrying on of his trade, carried about with him, and by opportunity shewed, had not been attested by the Bishop of Constance. Furious at this opposition, the monk called the Dean a beast, and excommunicated him. Both now hastened to Zurich, the Dean to accuse before the Diet there the monk, the monk to accuse the Dean, and at the same time to carry on his sale of indulgences in the town. Bullinger met with a friendly reception in Zurich, and especially from Zwingli, who told him he had done quite right in resisting the monk, and need not be the least uneasy as to the result. In the pulpit the Leut-priest of the Minster attacked without mercy the degrading imposition and trick of indulgences, and he proved that here the prediction of Peter in the second chapter of his second epistle was fulfilled: "there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction, (v. 1.) And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not," (v. 3). Accordingly, when Samson, in February 1519, was on the point of making his entrance on horseback into the town, after boasting, that although he well knew that Zwingli would preach against him, he would yet soon stop his mouth, an order came to him from the deputies of the Council, that he must not enter the town, nor sell there his indulgences, for, says Bullinger, people in Zurich began now to see through Romish knavery. Nay, in the Council a motion was made, in accordance with a law against Romish intruders, still in force, to seize him by the collar, and throw him into the water. Upon a pretence of Samson's, that he had a communication in name of the Pope to make to the assembled Diet, he was admitted before them, but the Diet, perceiving his sole intention was to speak on the sale of indulgences, commanded him silence. From the same public servants he received injunctions, forthwith and without recompence, to remove the excommunication which he had pronounced on the Dean Bullinger, and having done so, without a moment's delay to leave Switzerland. The monk obeyed, and set off in a vehicle, drawn by three horses, on his journey across the Alps, carrying with him the ill-gotten gains

of which he had swindled the poor Swiss. Towards the obtaining of this victory over Romish insolence, the General-Vicar Faber of Constance had likewise used his influence, who saw episcopal respect and dignity compromised by these Romish intruders. He expressed his thanks to Zwingli for the vigour and resolution he had shewn on this occasion, and begged of him that he would be pleased to make greater claims on his friendship than he had hitherto done. Zwingli employed these advances of his university-friend to impress upon his heart the duty of recommending, or at least of allowing, the free preaching of the Gospel in the bishopric of Constance. But to such counsels and petitions the dignitaries of the Church leant no willing ear. With redoubled zeal Zwingli directed his efforts within Zurich itself, that the pure word of God might be sounded from all the pulpits of the land.

We have already seen that the Council, as early as the year 1520, had been induced, by Zwingli's faithful preaching, to issue orders, in town and country, that the gospel be purely preached. However, it was easier to issue such instructions than to get them carried into effect. A violent opposition was excited among the numerous monks who inhabited the three monasteries in the town. How were they to preach the Word of God who were entirely ignorant of it, and, moreover, who held doctrines and sentiments in diametrical opposition to it? How could they give up Thomas and Scotus, from whom they derived their whole standing, as men of education and learning; how the legends and fables that were the sources of their greatest gain? Small as was the esteem which these monks, on account of their licentious morals and gross ignorance, enjoyed in the eyes of all men of true piety and sense, they were yet not destitute of powerful connections and influence. Several members of the Council, who, as supporters and friends of the foreign mercenary service, or who, as men of loose morals, disliked the bold and faithful preacher at the Minster, were wont, morning and evening, to visit the cloisters, and hold there their carousals. On such occasions, one stirred up the other to opposition against the preaching of the Word of God, and they hatched the darkest designs against its faithful preacher. The monks and their patrons caused it to be widely published that disunion and strife would afflict the state

if Zwingli were not forbidden to preach against them. Having, as they thought, made themselves secure of the result, they brought the matter before the Council, and it was determined by a majority that, for the future, the monks were not to be preached against. "Thereon," says Bullinger, "the Council-hall gave a loud crash." Councillors were horror-struck, and the meeting was suddenly dissolved. A violent contest was now carried on from the pulpits between the proclaimers of the message of God and the defenders of human traditions. The Council named a committee, consisting of the clergy of the town, the reading-masters and preachers of the cloisters, to meet in the provost's house, and here, after many high words had passed between the parties, they were exhorted by the Burgomaster to preach nothing which might cause any disturbance of peace and unity. "Zwingli," however, declared, "I cannot accept this command ; I will preach the gospel, free and without limitation, as was formerly resolved upon. I am bishop and parson in Zurich ; to me the cure of souls is entrusted. I, not the monks, have taken the oath. They must yield and not I. If they preach lies, I will come up to the very pulpits of their own cloisters and contradict them. I, for my part, if I preach anything contrary to the holy gospel, am willing to subject myself to the censure of the Chapter, nay, of every citizen, and let myself be punished for it." This decided tone was not without effect. The monks continued to claim for themselves the right of preaching Thomas and Scotus, but the committee of the Council decided *that the gospel should be preached*, for Thomas and Scotus, and the other doctors were of no weight. Nay, the Council went farther, and granted permission to Zwingli and his friends to preach the gospel likewise in the churches of the nunneries, where hitherto only the monks of the order were allowed to preach. Truth had thus again conquered.

But the enemies of the gospel in Zurich sought and found support and encouragement without the bounds of the canton. The friends of mercenary service leant on the Diet, where the majority was devoted to the system of foreign service and pensions ; the monks turned their eyes to the Bishop of Constance and his General-Vicar Faber. This man began now to develop his real character, and by the side of Eck to combat the preaching of the Word of God, and to employ against it all the means

of persecution within his power. To this change in his sentiments and course of procedure a journey to Rome had remarkably contributed, which he made ostensibly in the commission of the bishop. John Eck had formerly gone to Rome to operate with the Pope against Luther, and had received from his Holiness 700 ducats for travelling expenses. Faber at first ridiculed Eck for the step he had taken, but soon he too coveted the wages of unrighteousness, and also set off to Rome. Upon this Professor Egentius of Freiburg (in Breisgau) wrote,—“I begin to be suspicious of Faber; he is a man in his best years, and has great wants. Accordingly, he is also gone to Rome, to dedicate, as it is said, a book to the Pope against Luther, for he has received a hint of his Holiness’ liberality to Eck. If he should come back from the seat of all evil, we shall all, doubtless, have to fall down and worship the golden image.” Zwingli wrote in reference to the influence which this journey had on Faber,—“It appears to me Faber has unlearned at Rome all that he formerly knew of Christianity.” The vicar’s conversion infected also his bishop. “Although the Bishop,” says Voegeli, (a contemporary, and author of the History of the Reformation at Constance,) “was, at first, not disinclined to the gospel, yet his vicar, after his return from Rome, put other thoughts in his head, and made him very averse to it.” Yet eagerly as they watched the development of events at Zurich, and willingly as they lent an ear to the reports and complaints of the monks there, they durst not follow their own counsel against the preacher of truth. They knew his wondrous power over the minds of the people, the great esteem in which he was held, and his amazing popularity. These things held them in check. His temperate although firm demeanour, at the same time afforded no ground to justify interference. He was faithful in the discharge of all the duties of his office, he precipitated nothing, but awaited the sure operation of the Word of God, proclaimed with a full and living conviction, to produce through the renovation of the heart that true reformation in things external which he longed for. At length an event, in the beginning of the year 1522, gave the bishop and his vicar the opportunity they desired of openly interfering against Zwingli.

Zwingli took occasion to maintain, in expounding from the 4th chapter of the 1st Epistle to Timothy, verses 1-5, that fasts

appointed by the Church, in which certain meats were forbidden to be eaten at certain times, a release from which could only be obtained by donations to the Church, had no foundation in the Word of God, but were directly contrary to it. Instructed by these discourses of Zwingli, some of the citizens and inhabitants of Zurich allowed themselves the liberty of eating butcher-meat at the fast-season. These were in part sober, worthy men, such as Christoffel Froschauer, the printer, a Bavarian, who partook of this diet quietly without ostentation, and purely out of conviction that it was no sin, and as a matter of necessity to strengthen him for the duties of a rather laborious calling. Others, however, such as the expelled priest from Basle, William Roubli, did it in sheer wantonness, and with much vaunting and boasting, and in order to make an open break with ecclesiastical customs and institutions. Zwingli approved of the conduct of the former class of fast-transgressors, but severely blamed that of the latter. Upon this the monks and the war-party raised a great outcry against the faithful preacher of the Word, alleging that he was undermining the established order in church and state. The war-party were deeply offended by the following passage in Zwingli's discourse,—“Many think that to eat flesh is improper, nay, a sin, although God has nowhere forbidden it; but to sell human flesh for slaughter and carnage they hold to be no sin at all.” The Council of Zurich made an inquiry into the infraction of the fast-laws, and called the delinquents before them. Christoffel Froschauer defended himself with propriety of demeanour, and, along with his associates, was dismissed with an exhortation and a reproof. This result gave no satisfaction to the enemies of Zwingli, whose object was to silence the preacher of the truth.

On the 7th of April 1522 there came a delegation to Zurich from the Bishop of Constance, consisting of his suffragan Melchior Bottli, Dr. Brendli, and the cathedral-preacher John Wanner, a man of evangelical opinions, to act in this affair in the name of the bishop. The whole clergy of Zurich were summoned the next morning into the hall of the chapter. Here the suffragan-bishop spoke in a very excited, violent, and haughty manner, but without mentioning Zwingli's name in his speech, although the whole of it had reference to him alone. As soon as he had ended Zwingli arose, conceiving it to be unworthy of

him and pusillanimous not to answer a speech which might have pernicious consequences, and the more so, from the evident impression it made upon part of the audience, which impression manifested itself in the sighs and pale cheeks of certain priests who had been lately won over to the Gospel, but were not very securely anchored in it. "Pithily and bluntly I answered the suffragan," he relates himself, "in what sense and spirit let those worthy men judge who heard me that day. The suffragan let go this wing, as if he had been beaten and put to flight, and hastened to another battle-field, to the town-hall namely, where he, as I heard from some of the councillors themselves, gave vent to the very same language against me, without, however, naming me, saying, and this he said that I might not be called before them, he had nothing to do with me." The majority of the Little Council of Zurich then was composed of the enemies of the Gospel; that of the Great Council consisted of its friends. Zwingli's friends prevailed in getting the matter brought before the Great Council on the following day, but his enemies, in giving their consent to this, annexed the condition that the Leut-priests should not be admitted, as the matter did not concern them, and an incaptious address, void of all personality, did not require either answer or contradiction. It was in vain that Zwingli, during the whole day, employed every means in his power to obtain admission. The burgomasters refused it, appealing to the decision of the Little Council. "I was obliged to give up," he writes, "and lay the matter before Him who hears the groaning of the prisoner, and pray Him to defend His own Gospel. Patient waiting has never disappointed the servants of the Lord." It was on the 9th that the Great Council met. "It is unfair," said many, "that the Leut-priests are not allowed to appear." But the Little Council maintained their opposition, and pointed to their resolution. The vote was taken upon their objection, and the majority decided that the Leut-priests should be present, and should also have the right of answering, if they found it necessary to do so. After the Constantian deputies had been introduced, "the Zurichian bishops" were called, Huldreich Zwingli, Henry Engelhard, Leut-priests in the Frauen Minster, and Rudolf Roeschli of St. Peter's. The Suffragan began his speech in a voice so soft and winning that a sweeter never was heard, and one might have

fancied, had heart and head been in unison, he was about to surpass the greatest poets and orators in smooth and gracious eloquence. "It is much to be lamented," said he, "that some contentious and dangerous men teach that human institutions and rites are no more to be regarded. In this manner, not only civil laws, but Christianity itself, is threatened with ruin. Are not ceremonies a manduction"—(this Latin word the suffragan employed, instead of the corresponding German one, to men quite ignorant of Latin)—"a manduction," he said, "to virtue? Nay, might they not with propriety be called the origin of the virtues? Now, however, it is taught that fasting is superfluous, because, forsooth, some had dared to separate themselves, by the eating of flesh, from other Christians, and from the Church. An appeal is made by these people to holy Scripture, although Scripture gives no express opinion on the subject, while they act against the decrees and councils of the holy fathers of the Church, and against venerated customs, which, without the aid of the Holy Ghost, had never endured so long as they have done, for Gamaliel himself said, 'If it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.'" He then reminded the Council, that out of the Church none could be saved. He concluded with an ornate peroration, and having done so, arose with his friends to depart. "My lord," said Zwingli, "may it please your lordship and your friends to remain till, in the name of myself and colleagues, I have justified myself." *Suffragan*: "We have no commission to commence a disputation with any one." *Zwingli*: "Nor is such my wish. All that I desire is, that I may now have the pleasure of delivering, before you learned men and representatives of our ecclesiastical superiors, that which I have preached to the honourable citizens who are here present, that you may be enabled to give a trustworthy report as to whether you have found my doctrine true or false." *Suffragan*: "We have not spoken against you, you are therefore under no necessity to justify yourself." *Zwingli*: "Without doubt you have abstained from mentioning my name, but your invectives were directed against me. You speak to me like the sea-fighter, who said, 'Not thee I strike, but the fish.'* It appears you have not mentioned my name, that you might, in a very smooth and polished manner, lay to the charge of one called

* Non te Galle peto, piscem peto.

Zwingli, the greatest crimes." The burgomaster Roist begged the Constantian deputies to remain, and to hear the Leut-priest. The *Suffragan* replied: "I know well to what this will lead. Huldreich Zwingli is too unmeasured and violent in his language for any one to commit himself in dispute with him." *Zwingli*: "In what, pray, have I at any time given offence to you, and how shall I characterize your conduct, you, who accuse in vehement language an innocent man, who has done good service to the cause of Christianity, and who yet refuse to hear him in his own defence? - What would you do, think you, if in your absence I appealed to the Council, avoided you, would no more of you for judges? Now that I do nothing of this sort, that I even desire your presence to give an account of my faith and my doctrine, how can you be so unreasonable as to refuse to hear me? But if reason will not induce you to grant me this, then I entreat you, in the name of our common faith, our common baptism, for the sake of our common Redeemer, that ye do it to oblige me, and if, as episcopal deputies, ye cannot sit still, yet do it as Christians." A general murmur of disapprobation arose in the Council at the demeanour of the suffragan. This general dissatisfaction, and an appeal from the burgomaster, compelled the deputies to resume their places. Zwingli began his defence: "My lord suffragan has said that certain individuals advance erroneous and seditious doctrines. Although he did not mention me by name, it is yet clear he designed me as much as if he had named me, who have been here in Zurich for about four years, preaching the Gospel of Jesus, and the doctrine of the apostles, with the sweat of my brow. It is no matter of surprise to me that those who bind themselves to human traditions do not agree with those who reject them. Christ has plainly prophesied this. (Matt. x. 34.) Yet Zurich is more quiet and peaceful than any other town in the Confederacy, and this all good citizens ascribe to the Gospel. In respect of the second reproach, namely, that we teach, institutions and ceremonies are not to be observed, I candidly confess that I wish a great part of them abolished. Many of these institutions are like those of which Peter himself speaks in the Acts of the Apostles, that they are burdens which cannot be borne. However, I have never held the opinion that we are neither to make nor to keep human institutions. Who

will not submit with joy to that which is accepted by the universal consent of the whole of Christendom? Who, on the contrary, will not reject with abhorrence the traditions of certain belly-servers who, like the Pharisees, lay intolerable burdens on the people which they themselves will not touch with one of their fingers? To excite the Council against me, the Suffragan has farther said it will soon come to pass that civil laws will not be obeyed. This is contradicted by the whole doctrine of Christ and the Apostles. Christ has said, 'Render to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's;' and the Apostles, 'Give every man that which is due, and be subject to your superiors, not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward' Is not then Christianity the best safeguard of the general security? Let it be admitted, however, that ceremonies were all abolished, would Christianity thereby cease to exist? The people can be led by another path than by ceremonies to the knowledge of the truth, even by the path which Christ and the Apostles pursued. Nor is there any ground at all to fear that the people cannot comprehend the Gospel. He who believes understands it. The people can believe, they can also understand. This is a work of the Holy Spirit, not of human reason, as Christ says, Matt. xi. 25; and Paul, 1 Cor. i. 27. Besides, I have at no time or place maintained that the forty days fast should not be observed. For my part one may fast the whole year if he have not enough in the forty days; only I hold that fasts should not be imposed on any one by the threat of excommunication, but that every one should be left to use his own liberty in this matter." Zwingli then proved by Mark vii. 15, and especially by 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, that compulsory obligations to fast were not founded in Holy Scripture, but, on the contrary, were opposed to it. The Suffragan in reply, addressed the Council in a speech full of unction, exhorting them, as they valued their salvation, not to separate themselves from the Church, out of which there was no salvation. Zwingli replied: "Do not let yourselves, dear brethren and fellow-citizens, be brought to believe that ye have separated yourselves from the Church. Bear in mind only that which I told you in my exposition of Matthew, that even the same rock which gave the name of Peter to the true disciple, who knew his Lord, is the corner-stone of the Church. Among every people and in every place, he who calls on the

name of the Lord, and in heart believes that God raised Christ from the dead, will be saved. It is certain no man can be saved out of that Church to which we all the more surely belong, the more surely we rejoice in the hope of a glorious inheritance among the saints." The Suffragan remarked, it was the duty of the Leutpriests to explain to the people the significance of the ceremonies. Zwingli replied: "No, mine is the duty to preach Christ faithfully as I have done hitherto. As for the ceremonies, let them explain them that live by them."* After a short debate, the Suffragan deemed it advisable to be silent, and withdrew. The mission had entirely failed of its object.

Dr. Wanner, a member of the deputation, was so convinced of the soundness of Zwingli's doctrine, that out of a minion of the bishop, he became a faithful preacher of the Gospel. Zwingli not only was not put to silence or defeated, but he had vigorously repelled the attacks of his adversaries with the sword of the Spirit. In reference to the result of this conflict, he wrote to his friend Myconius; "I so answered them, that it is generally said in Zurich, they will never again bring together their routed forces, or lead them with success into a new combat. Yet I hear they intend to renew it. Let them come; with God I fear them as little as the beetling cliff fears the waves that thunder at its base." After the above proceedings, the Council resolved to request the bishop, by letter, that he would be pleased to employ his influence with the pope and the cardinals, as also with the bishops, synods, and with Christian men of learning generally, that they might give some solution of the points in debate, so that the people might know how they were to act. The Little Council, in whom lay the executive, having punished in the meanwhile, by fine, some transgressions of the fast-laws, Zwingli feared the people might regard this as a condemnation of his doctrine. To prevent this result, he wrote and published through the printing-press, a small work on "The Abstaining from and Partaking of Meats, Offence-Giving, and Strife," in which he endeavoured, on the one hand, to prove that compulsory fasting was contrary to reason and Scripture; while on the other hand, he pressed on the hearts and con-

* With these words Zwingli purposely, but without being too plain in his allusion, touched the Suffragan on a sore point. "For is it not notorious that the Suffragans fill their purses by the mummeries performed at their consecrations?" says he, in one of his writings.

sciences of the more advanced in Christian knowledge the duty of abstaining from giving to the weaker in the faith any offence by an untimely transgression of the fast-laws. "The eating of flesh has been," says he in his little work, "at no time forbidden by any Divine commandment. But if thy neighbour feel himself hurt and offended thereby, thou oughtest not to do it without necessity, until he be confirmed in the faith. Is he confirmed, then thou mayest eat quietly even before him of all and every sort of meats; is he not, then thou oughtest to share his weakness, so long as it is actually weakness. For Paul says: 'But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died.' Rom. xiv. 15, and, 'For meat destroy not the work of God,' v. 20. Again, he says, 'Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend,' (1 Cor. viii. 13). As long as thy brother is weak, and so to say a minor, he must be tenderly dealt with. Is he no longer weak, yet must he be again spared if thy eating cause disturbance. For thou art not, for the food's sake, to destroy the work of God; that is, we are not, for the sake of freedom in meats, to cause that the Gospel should give offence. If, however, in an enlightened community we can eat of the meats without giving offence and causing dispeace; let it be done. For, surely, it will never come to such a pass in this world, that what is right and good will please all men; there will always be some ready to rise up in rebellion against it; yet our duty is to do the things which make for peace." The influence which this admirable treatise, written in a Christian spirit as mild as it was decided, exercised on the minds of men, both far and near, was very great. The enemies of the Gospel saw that they had not a moment to lose, if they were to overcome the most dangerous opponent which human doctrines and traditions had yet encountered. The plan was forthwith devised of making an attack on him from four different quarters at once, and it was confidently hoped he would fall before a united onset.

The first who came forward in conformity with this design was the aged Canon, Conrad Hoffmann, who handed to the chapter a long accusatory writing against the reformer. "Even," said he on this occasion, "should the parson be able to prove, by

witnesses, what misdemeanours or crimes are committed by the clergy in this or that cloister, in this or that street, or in this or that tavern, it is no business of his to name any one. Why gives he it to be understood, (I, for my part, have scarcely ever heard him preach), that he alone draws his doctrine from the fountain-head, the others only out of pools and ditches? The spirits are different, and all preachers cannot preach the same things." Zwingli justified himself at a meeting of the chapter with such success that Hoffmann was obliged to draw off discomfited. "I gave him," Zwingli writes to Myconius, "a shaking, such as an ox, when, with its horns, it tosses a heap of chaff up in the air." The other ships of war came out of the Episcopal harbour of Constance itself.

The bishop led the way, and issued, on the 2d of May, a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he complained, without naming either Zurich or Zwingli, that designing men, at the very time that the Turks were falling on the Christians sword in hand, were spreading their damnable heresies over the land, and that learned and unlearned men were everywhere contending upon divine things,—upon the holiest and sublimest mysteries, upon the honour to be shewn to God, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church. The clergy were exhorted to be instant in prayer to God, that His Almighty power would put a stop to the "hardened iniquity of the perverse." This document, which came from the pen of Faber, was framed for the purpose of weakening, or indeed of altogether ruining Zwingli's reputation among the people. That Zwingli and his friends, however, might be annihilated at once, the Bishop of Lausanne issued at the same time a like circular to the clergy of his diocese. The monks in Berne announced, in consequence of this letter, that to all who read the books of Zwingli or of Luther, or who either in public or in secret spoke against the holy rites and customs of the Church, they would, in the hour of death, refuse the holy Sacraments, they would exclude them from Christian burial, and the supplications of Christendom, and so on. But the poisoned dart that was to strike Zwingli recoiled upon those who discharged it, and wounded them in a manner the most acute. Dr. Sebastian Meier, a Franciscan monk in Berne, annexed a commentary to the pastoral letter, sentence for sentence, which he

published anonymously. Zwingli procured its publication in Zurich just after he had issued from the press his own defence of himself, and attack of his enemies, which is mentioned below. In what spirit Meier's exposition of the episcopal letter was drawn up, the following extract will shew: "Behold, dear reader, the Turk is again at the door. Ye papists must needs sell indulgences, and drive him off. Ah! for many a year he has been to you a good Turk; has he not brought much into your larder, given a great impetus to your luxury? But, alas! absolution will now avail nothing,—the trick is discovered. What is to be done? How is the Turk to be driven off? Or rather, How are the princes to be maintained? For mark, this is the great point; it is here the shoe pinches. But now they really tremble before the Turk. As long, however, as he lay like a stone on the neck of the King of Hungary, they gave themselves no concern about him. But now when he is marching into Italy, he comes too near. Now they have for many long years cheated the world by absolution, and a thousand other impostures, and without doubt have heaped up an immense treasure, as also the Johannite order, that for many a year has certainly carried on no war against the Turk. Where is this treasure? Of what use are troopers to the bishops? Is it to ride about the highways and terrify the merchants, so that the money drops out of their purses, from sheer terror, into the hands of those to whom it does not rightfully belong? Nay, let this all as well as the rich abbeys be employed against the Turk! The warlike bishops, cardinals, priests, and cowardly monks, that are to be seen on every road with their long swords,—off with them,—send them all against the Turks. With these you have money and men enough, and need not torment honest folks, and empty their purses. This all, dear reader, I have been forced to say, from seeing them braving us with the Turks, with which enemy they have often already terrified simple Christians; dream not they mean it half so earnestly as they appear to do about these same Turks; their princely state is all they care for." With a sharp eye and an unsparing weapon the ecclesiastical abuses, especially as connected with the episcopal courts, were detected and laid bare, following the thread of the pastoral letter, and illustrated with examples. This publication had the greater effect from following closely on the one of Zwingli's, bear-

ing the title of 'Archeteles,' (the Beginning and the End,) and which he wrote to defend himself against his enemies.

On the 24th of May the third attack was made upon Zwingli, and again from the quarter of the Episcopal Court. A document, drawn up at great length by Faber, was sent to the provost and Chapter, and in it they were called upon by the Bishop "to be on their guard against the poison of the new teachers, who complain of the multitude of ceremonies, and with vigour to oppose those who set themselves against the old customs of the Church." The Bishop refers again to the circumstance that the heads of Christendom, the Pope and the Emperor, had publicly condemned the new doctrines as dangerous and seditious.* "They are therefore to take all measures that the same be not preached, and neither in public nor in private disputed upon." The Chapter were here pretty plainly called upon, as the electors and immediate superiors of the Leut-priest, to proceed to his removal and dismissal. It was expected this end would be the more easily reached, from the known hostility of some of its members to him. Accordingly, when the document came to be read in their meeting, all the canons turned their eyes in silence upon Zwingli, who forthwith rose and said: "I read in your looks you are of opinion this writing is directed against me. I am of the same opinion myself, and have therefore to request that it be delivered to me. With the help of God I shall so answer it, that the duplicity of these men shall be laid bare and the truth made known." Zwingli answered the document in the publication already mentioned, consisting of nine and a half sheets of letter-press, and which bore the title of 'the Beginning and the End,' because he hoped it would be the first and last defence it would be necessary for him to make against his enemies. He had the pastoral letter published at the same time, and answered it sentence by sentence.† Ascribing the evil counsels taken against the gospel to the advisers of the bishop, he writes of the bishop himself in terms of the greatest respect. "In conclusion," he says, "renounce such counsellors, and all connection with them, else you will

* By the outlawry and excommunication of Luther.

† Zwingli's Archeteles had been written and printed before the answer of Meier to the pastoral letter of the Bishop, and the latter had copied Zwingli's plan. We have made reference to Meier's production first, because the Bishop's letter appeared before the one to the Chapter.

become a laughing-stock to the world. For what Scripture teaches is no more to be learned only from the mouths of the priests; the people themselves know it. Not authority, but reason and a pious mind must lead us, else we shall effect as little as Paul when he kicked against the pricks. Not to speak of the almighty power of God, the zeal for the gospel has now gained such strength that it can neither be put to sleep, nor suppressed by the contemptible labours of a few isolated individuals; and supposing malignity should succeed in smothering for a time this flame of zeal, the fire would only break out with greater violence at an after period. Be wise and cautious, and entreat the Lord that he may guide your footsteps. Zwingli himself prays: 'O blessed Jesus, Thou seest that the ears of Thy people are stopped by whisperers, traitors, self-seekers. Thou knowest how I have, from childhood, shunned this conflict, and that even yet Thou leadest me on to the fight. I call to Thee, in trust that Thou wouldest accomplish what Thou hast begun. If I have built up anything wrongly, then, O Lord, overthrow it with Thine Almighty hand. If I lay another foundation than Thyself, tear it down. O sweet Vine! whose vine-dresser the Father is, whose branches we are, leave not Thy supporters. For Thou hast promised to be with us to the end of the world.'

In this manner, this third attack of Faber's was so repulsed that it redounded to the glory of the gospel. Hummelberger, parson in Revensburg, wrote to Zwingli, under date the 1st September: "Your Archeteles was right welcome. I was especially pleased at the manner in which you handled that hypocritical Caiaphas (Faber) according to his merits, and sketched him to the life. Such people, who will not themselves cleanse out the filth, must be subjected to the operation of a sharp ley. Well satisfied with themselves, they must sometimes hear what is said of them by others, that, if possible, they may amend their ways. Henceforward the serpent, if wise, will no longer hiss, the frog quack, or the idle gossip talk nonsense in the streets. As soon as I received my copy and read it, I despatched it to Wittemberg, to Melanchton and Blarer; I sent another to our friends at Augsburg, that they might see what new zeal has sprung up in Zurich for Christianity; the grace of God again shaking its locks out of its deep sleep."

But we hasten to detail the incidents of the fourth attack, which was made from Constance, simultaneously with the last. Faber and Landenberg applied to the Diet, the highest temporal power in the Confederacy. This body contained within itself an overwhelming majority of the friends of foreign mercenary service and pensions, and the enemies of the gospel. Zwingli especially, on account of his patriotic labours above described, was an object of their bitterest hostility. Accordingly, when delegates from the bishop appeared at Lucerne, before the assembled Diet, on the 27th May 1522, lodging a complaint against the adherents of the new doctrine and the preacher of Zurich, they found a very ready hearing. The motion was immediately put and carried; "in name of the Confederacy to instruct the priests, whose sermons produced disunion and disturbance among the people, to desist from such preaching." Sorely as this resolution annoyed Zwingli, he did not allow himself to be discouraged by it, or to relax in his zeal in the cause of Christ. These combined attacks upon the gospel and its preaching, by licentious monks, and a degenerate, selfish, and worldly-minded episcopate, backed by all the venal members of the Diet in the pay and attached to the interest of foreign powers, only animated him to fresh exertions.

He heard in the brewing storm the voice of God calling to him more distinctly than ever, to uphold the sacred banner of the truth, and display it not only from the pulpit of the Zurich Minster, but to wave it before the whole Confederacy. The first thing, in his opinion, to be done was to unite the friends of the gospel against "the rulers taking counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed" (Psalm ii. 2,) that so, in many places, and by many witnesses, divine truth might be proclaimed, and its testimony confirmed. Accordingly, he called together, at Einsiedeln, a number of the evangelical clergy, on the 2d, and on the 13th of June 1522, and laid before them for signature two petitions which he had himself drawn up, one in the German language, addressed to the Diet of the Confederacy, and another in Latin, addressed to the Bishop of Constance. The petitions were different in form, but in substance the same, and prayed, "that the preaching of the gospel might not be forbidden, and that it might be permitted to the priests to marry."

In the one to the Diet the wish was first of all expressed that

the like thing might happen to them as to the Council at Athens under the preaching of Paul. (Acts, xvii.) At first they wondered at the new things they heard, but afterwards many being instructed believed on Christ. "We hear, too, how there are some amongst you who have allowed yourselves to be persuaded that the preaching of the gospel is an innovation, else certainly no one in the whole Confederacy had dared to set himself against the Word of God." A concise and clear exposition of the principal doctrines of the gospel follows, as we find in Part II., Book II., chap. i. "This evangelical doctrine, however, must be drawn wholly from its fountains, from the writings of the evangelists and apostles, the patriarchs and prophets, and not from the inventions and traditions of men, which may be likened to stagnant pools and ditches of impure water. As every one, however, may not be able to judge which preacher draws from the source, and which from the pools and ditches, we shall here produce a description of both. The preacher, whose continual aim and labour it is that the will, the doctrine, and the mind of God be made known, and His glory advanced; whose care it is to rouse sinners to repentance, and to quiet the awakened conscience; who looks not to his own honour or advancement, or to any worldly interest; who holds wholly to the Scriptures, he is without doubt like-minded with Christ, who sought not His own but ours. But he who litigates with his flock about this world's goods, who preaches nothing but payment of tithes and dues to the Church, who finds out daily new saints to make offerings to, who recommends and extols the absolution, who fills his sermons with exaltation of the spiritual power and dignity, above all, commends the Papal authority, the man who thus acts and preaches, it is to be feared, has much more at heart the interests of this world than the honour of God and the salvation of souls. If there be among you those who cannot bear that their arrogance be deprived of that which it feeds upon, and who would persuade you to forbid the preaching of the gospel, or to command it to be preached in such a way that it neither offends any one nor discovers prevailing vices, lend these people, I beseech you, no ear, for if you do, ye will fall under the displeasure of Almighty God. It is sad and melancholy enough when the carnal man will not let himself be put right by other men, but infinitely worse is it if

the man will not hear God, for he thereby proves clearly *that he is not of God*. Certain it is, the Word of God has never been rejected and disregarded with impunity. For the rest, we must follow the example of the apostles of the Lord, when the High Council forbade them to preach Christ; we, too, are justified in saying, we ought to obey God rather than men." (Acts v. 29.) In the second part of the petition, Zwingli avows, with the greatest candour, that nothing has more hindered the progress of the gospel than "the immorality and unchastity of the clergy. Your honours know the scandalous lives led by us in respect to unlawful intercourse with women, by which we have roused the indignation of the world; the fiery blood of youth, which none, without the special grace of God, might overcome, was partly the cause; principally, however, they are to blame for these excesses, who, although they saw that no man could maintain his vows, and they themselves, as God well knows, least of all, yet would not have this hypocritical pretence of compulsory celibacy done away with." He then proceeds to prove the propriety of priestly marriage, by clear passages from Scripture, as well as by examples and precedents taken from the ancient Church. He concludes: "We are all Swiss; you are our fathers. Many of us have shewn ourselves to be true men in battle, in pestilence, and in other public calamities. We speak in the name of true chastity; we might indulge the lusts of the flesh more by not subjecting ourselves to the restraints of marriage. But the scandals in the Christian Church must cease. If Romish tyranny should oppress us, fear not, honourable and brave men, the Word of God and Christian freedom are worth contending for, and Divine grace will not fail us. We have *one native country, one faith*; we are Swiss; and the virtue of our illustrious ancestors ever displayed itself in the indomitable defence of all the oppressed. God give you such a spirit; for truly we swear to you, before God, that such will be to your honour, and to our salvation. May the Lord be with you. Amen." This petition was presented by Zwingli, in the name of all the friends assembled at Einsiedeln.

The petition to the Bishop of Constance was signed as well by those present as by other friends of evangelical truth in Switzerland. In this document they tell the bishop: "The divine teaching, the truth which God the Creator hath revealed through His

Son to mankind, when they were sunk in misery, has been corrupted and defaced at one time by the ignorance, at another by the malignity of men. God has resolved to give it to mankind in its original purity. Unite yourselves to those who desire that the whole of Christendom may return to Christ, their common Head. We have resolved to preach His Gospel unceasingly, and so that no one can complain. Forward this strange but yet not rash design. Advance like Moses in the exodus out of Egypt, at the head of the people, and overthrow all obstacles which oppose the victorious progress of the truth." In the second part of the petition they say: "We pray thee for Christ's sake, by the infirmities of many weak vacillating souls, by the wounds of many sick consciences, by every consideration, human and divine, grant the abolition of that which has rather been brought in by stealth than by design. See to it, that the building which has been erected, in contradiction of the will of God, do not tumble in pieces with a terrible crash. The world is exposed to many storms; without wise measures the priesthood will be overwhelmed." Little as was the influence which this petition exerted on those to whom it was addressed, it still produced great effects among the lower orders of clergy and the people. It became a banner, round which the friends of divine truth and of the rights of conscience leagued in one covenant, that disappointed all the schemes of combined iniquity. On the 15th of August of this year, the chapter of the canton of Zurich, which comprised the clergy from the sources of the Linth to the junction of the Limath with the Reuss, met and made the great spiritual movement of the times a chief topic of debate. By Zwingli's influence, this ecclesiastical assembly unanimously adopted the following resolution, "to preach nothing but what is contained in the Word of God."

The Reformer had thus won a glorious victory. He had, through an honest proclamation of the divine message to fallen man, of whose truth he had in his own heart felt the conviction, emancipated the conscience from the fetters of human traditions, and raised it to the joyful obedience of *faith*. "We must obey God rather than men," became the watch-word in Zurich, and was adopted by the greater part of the Swiss clergy.

4. ZWINGLI'S FIRST RELATION TO LUTHER.

About the same time that God called Huldreich Zwingli, in Switzerland, to be a chosen instrument in the reformation of His Church according to its original purity and design, Martin Luther, in Wittenberg, was stirred up by His Spirit to engage in the same work. Both of these distinguished men stood upon the same ground; both recognising the alone way of salvation in faith on Jesus Christ, and the alone directory of faith and practice in the Word of God; yet the ray of divine truth reflected itself differently in the minds of the two Reformers, and shone with a different glory in each. In Luther's character, actions, and writings, the Spirit of God manifests itself at one time impetuous and vehement, like the awful tempest roaring in a forest of German oaks, and shaking violently its lofty trees; at another time, soft and gentle like the zephyr, whispering mysteriously and sweetly, and scarcely agitating the leaves. On the soul of Zwingli, the Spirit of Truth arose in calm majesty like the sun, slowly and majestically climbing the blue cerulean over some Swiss mountain; he stood immovable in all the storms that surrounded him, like one of his native mountains, when the tempest swathes it round with its girdle of horrors, or the avalanche leaps from its sides into the abysses. In reply to the question, which of these two men of God is the greater, the answer holds good, that greatness in the kingdom of God is not measured as we measure worldly greatness. Both acknowledged themselves in humility "only by grace to be what they were;" both were prepared joyfully to drink of the cup of suffering which their Master had drained to the dregs; both to be baptised with the baptism with which He was baptised. (Matt. xx. 22.) After Luther had been proclaimed a heretic by the Pope and excommunicated, it was conceived that the speediest means of getting rid of Zwingli was to call him the scholar and imitator of Luther. This induced him to speak out more plainly regarding his relations to the great German Reformer. "I began," says he, "before a single individual in our part of the country even heard of the name of Luther, to preach the gospel: this was in the year 1516. Who called me

then a Lutheran? When Luther's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer appeared, it so happened that I had shortly before preached from Matthew on the same prayer. Well, some good folks, who everywhere found my thoughts in Luther's work, would hardly let themselves be made to believe that I had not written this book myself; they fancied that, being afraid to put my own name to it, I had set that of Luther's instead. Who called me then a follower of Luther? Then, how comes it that the Romish Cardinals and Legates, who were at that very time in Zurich, never reproached me as Lutheran, until they had declared Luther a heretic, which however they could never make him? When they had branded him a heretic, it was then for the first time they exclaimed, I was Lutheran; although Luther's name was entirely unknown to me during these two years that I kept to the Bible alone. But it is part of their cunning policy to load me and others with this name. Do they say: You must be Lutheran for you preach as Luther; I answer, I preach too as Paul writes, why not call me a Paulean? Nay; I preach the Word of Christ, why not much rather call me a Christian? In my opinion Luther is one of God's chosen heralds and combatants, who searches the Scriptures with greater zeal than has been done by any man on earth for the last thousand years. What care I that the Papists call me along with him a heretic? Not one, so long as the popedom has lasted, has attacked it with the same manly immovable soul as he has done; and this I say without offence to others. But whose act is this? God's or Luther's? Ask Luther himself; without doubt he will tell you God's. Why then do you ascribe the doctrine which other men teach, to Luther, seeing that he himself ascribes it to God; that he advances nothing new, nothing but that which is contained in the eternal unchangeable Word of God. It is this that he richly forwards to the light of day; thereby he makes known to poor wandering Christians their heavenly treasure, and values as little what the enemies of God dare do against it, as he does their malignant looks and angry threats. Yet I shall not bear Luther's name, for I have read but little of his doctrine, and have purposely abstained from a perusal of his books. What however of his writings I have seen, in so far as these concern the doctrines and thoughts of Scripture, this, in my opinion, is so well proved and established in them, that it will be no easy

task for any man to overthrow it. I know that in some things he yields much to the weak; for example, in his small work upon the Ten Lepers he yields something, as I have been told, to the confessional, giving it to be understood that one ought to present himself before the priest, although this cannot be educed from the narrative. But to those who obstinately close their understandings against those views of Scripture, which he and others at this day advance, to these he yields nothing, no, not a hairsbreadth; and of what use is it yielding to such? they are inveterate unbelievers, condemned in their own consciences. Therefore, dear Christians, let not the name of Christ be changed into the name of Luther; for Luther has not died for us, but he teaches us to know Him from whom alone our salvation comes. If Luther preaches Christ, he does it as I do; although, God be praised for it, an innumerable multitude, much more than by me and by others, have been converted to God through him, for God metes out to every man as He will. For my part, I shall bear no other name but that of *my Captain, Jesus Christ, whose soldier I am*. No man can esteem Luther higher than I do. Yet I testify before God and all men, that I never, at any time, wrote to him, nor he to me, nor has anything been done to open up a correspondence between us. I have purposely abstained from all correspondence with him, not that I feared any man on this account, but because I would have it appear how uniform the Spirit of God is, in so far that we, who are far distant from each other, and have held no communication, are yet of the same mind, and this without the slightest concert. But I will not be so bold as to place myself by the side of Luther, for each of us works according to the ability given us of God."

Zwingli had understood, through his friendly relations with Wilhelm de Falconibus, Secretary of the Swiss Papal Legate, that the Pope intended to publish, in a special bull, the excommunication already pronounced on Luther. He resolved to employ every means in his power to turn his Holiness from this design. He communicated his intention to his friend Myconius by letter. "I shall," says he, wait to-morrow upon the Papal Commissioner, Wilhelm, (who, in the absence of the Legate, transacted the business of the Holy See,) and shall give him the advice, if he speak on the subject as he lately did, to warn the

Pope against an excommunication of Luther, for I foresee that the Germans will only despise the bull, as well as the Pope himself. Let not your courage sink; there will not fail in our days people to preach Christ fully, and who will joyfully give their lives a sacrifice to Him, even although they know beforehand that, as has happened long ago, they will be blasphemed after their death as heretics, traitors, and villains. As for me, I expect for myself, as a victim devoted to death, the worst from all, clergy as well as laity, and I pray to Christ for the grace to meet what may befall me with manly courage, and that He may either uphold me, or break me in pieces, who am but His poor vessel, as shall seem good unto Him. I will, if the bolt of excommunication strike me, think of the holy Hilarius,* who was expelled from Gaul to Africa, and on Pope Lucius,† who was driven away, but received back with honour. Verily, I do not liken myself to these, yet the undeserved fate of so many worthy men must console me; and if I held it allowable to boast, I should rejoice to suffer shame for the name of Christ. Yet let him that standeth take heed lest he fall." This step having met with no success, Zwingli tried another; he sent his first anonymous publication to the press, entitled, "Advice of one who desires to see the character of the Pope and of Christianity preserved." In this publication he earnestly warns the Pope against taking violent measures against Luther, and he closes by expressing his conviction that in every case "*truth and the doctrine of Christ will come off victoriously.*"

5. ZWINGLI IN THE SCHOOL OF THE CROSS—INCREASING NUMBERS OF THE FRIENDS OF EVANGELICAL TRUTH.

Zwingli had scarcely been a year engaged in his reforming labours in Zurich, when he was put under the cross, that he might thus exercise and prove himself in "the imitation of Christ." In August 1519 he visited, for the purpose of resuscitating his exhausted bodily powers, after his severe labours, the

* Hilarius became Bishop of Poitiers, A.D. 350, but was forced into banishment on account of his zeal for orthodoxy.

† Lucius I., who occupied the Papal chair A.D. 252.

mineral waters of Pfäffer, situated in a dreadful ravine of the Galanda mountains. Here he formed a friendship with the poet and professor, Egentius of Freiburg (in Breisgau), who visited the springs with the same object in view. The days, however, of relaxation and recreation were not to last long for the Reformer. From Zurich he received the harrowing intelligence that the plague, which was traversing Europe from the eastward, and which had not spared the highest valleys of Switzerland, had invaded his own parish. The zealous pastor, mindful of the duties of his high calling, hastened homewards, to extend to the afflicted members of his flock the consolations of the Gospel. His brother Andrew, whom he had living with him in his own house to guide his studies, he sent off to Wildhaus, that he might thereby the better escape infection. Zwingli himself, with heroic courage, visited the sick and the dying without intermission, and supplied them, in this the hour of their extremest need, with the rich consolations of the Gospel. In his sermons he raised the sinking hearts of his terrified congregation with the promises of the Word of Life, and pointed them to Christ, who quickens the weary and heavy laden. Many among his people trembled for the life of their faithful pastor, as they saw him moving about amidst the thickly flying darts of death, himself bearing round the cup of salvation; for "the great death," as the name of this pestilence is, in the mouths of the common people, cut down in Zurich alone, from August 1519 to Candlemas 1520, two thousand five hundred. "I rejoice greatly," wrote Conrad Brunner (of Wesen), from Basle, that thou standest untouched and unharmed by the arrows of death which are flying around. But my joy will not be free of anxiety so long as thou daily exposest thyself to great peril by visiting the sick of the plague. Forget not, while bringing consolation to others, to take care for thine own life." The anxiety of Zwingli's friends was but too well-founded, for, at the end of September, he himself became a victim to the disease. What a grief to his flock, when they saw their faithful pastor chained to a sick, it might be a dying bed. The feelings which oppressed the friends of evangelical truth at a distance by the intelligence of his sickness are thus expressed in a letter which Dr Hedio wrote to Zwingli: "We were deeply afflicted when we heard that this murderous disease had seized you also, for who would not grieve

if the saviour of his country, if the trumpet of the gospel, if the courageous herald of the truth should be struck down in the prime of life, high in hope, and in the midst of his usefulness. The feelings of his own soul on his being seized, the Reformer poured forth in the following Hymn :—

On the Commencement of his Sickness.

My humble prayer, O Father, hear,
O help me in this strait;
With heavy foot grim Death draws near,
And thunders at my gate.

O Thou, who in the stormy fight,
Did'st hold in check his power;
Stand, Christ, I pray Thee, by my side,
And help me in this hour.

My Father, if it be Thy will,
Do Thou ordain once more,
That the destroying angel still
Pass me in safety o'er.

O cause mine agony to cease,
Pull out the dart that burns,
That grants me not an hour of peace,
And rest to unrest turns.

But if my sun is to descend,
At mid-day to the tomb,
O! do Thou resignation send—
Prepare me for my doom.

What doom? Thou shalt me from this earth
Withdraw me in Thy love,
And death itself shall be my birth
Into the bliss above.

As in the potter's forming hand
The clay is at the wheel;
Thus life or death's at Thy command—
'Tis Thine to kill or heal.

My soul in resignation
"Do all Thy pleasure" saith,
Thy will shall be salvation,
Be it in life or death.

His complaint increased, his strength left him, but his heart sought and found consolation in God through Jesus Christ, and he again sings, in the midst of his calamity :—

On his Sickness Increasing.

Comfort, O Lord, I seek by Thee,
The pains they are increasing,
The might of sickness presses me,
And woe my heart is seizing;
O Thou, Consoler, Thee I seek,
Confirm and cheer Thy creature weak,
With comfort from Christ's wounds.

Yes, Great Redeemer! at death's gates
Thou giv'st to him assistance,
Who faithfully upon Thee waits
With undismayed persistence,
Who finds delight in Thee alone,
And for Thyself without a moan,
Would gladly quit the world.

My tongue is withered and dumb,
Each sense in torpor lying,
Is, then, the end of all things come,
And am I now a-dying?
Then, Mighty Champion! stretch Thy hand,
'Tis time Thyself the contest grand
To end which I've begun.

I see, indeed, with dreadful rage,
That Satan on me presses,
While me, too weak the war to wage,
He more and more abases;
But he'll Thy servant conquer never,
Because his faith rests on Thee ever,
So then let hell still storm.

The faithful, as Bullinger mentions, were deeply distressed at the sickness of their dear pastor, and called to God in earnest prayer that He would be pleased to raise him up again. The Lord heard the prayers of His people, and raised His servant from his bed of sickness, that he might further contend for the honour of God and the salvation in Christ Jesus. The joyous feeling of gratitude which filled his bosom on his recovery he gives expression to in the following Hymn of grateful praise :—

On his Recovery to Health.

I'm sound,—through Thy great goodness;
 My God Thou'st made me whole,
 My speech, although in rudeness,
 Will loudly Thee extol;
 To Thee, who me once more,
 Hast raised, to death devoted,
 My soul shall be devoted
 More than it was before.

But had death in his fetter
 Securely captured me,
 I were now where 'tis better
 I were, O Lord, by Thee;
 Now it remains again
 The bands of life to sever,
 When none is to deliver,
 Perhaps in greater pain.

Yet on I go with gladness,
 Since 'tis Thy holy will,
 With joy yet mixed with sadness,
 My journey to fulfil;
 To wage 'gainst sin the strife,
 And when life's toils are ended,
 There will at length b' extended
 To me the crown of life.

The intelligence of his recovery filled his friends far and near with the greater rapture, because they had shortly before received the report that he had sunk under the virulence of the malady. Hedio wrote from Basle: "Like a suddenly appearing angel of consolation came Rudolph Collin to us, assuring us that we had no cause to be cast down on your account, for you were now safe." Wilibald Pirkheimer, of Nurnberg, says, in a letter to Zwingli: "If my mourning over your sickness was great, my joy at your recovery was greater. Let us sing praises to God, who strikes the wounds and who heals them again, who kills and makes alive, and who has called back your soul from the grave. His name be praised for evermore." William de Falconibus, the legate's secretary, writes: "If the gratification of a wish ever filled me with pleasure, it was far exceeded by what I felt when I heard of the return of one from the gates of death, for whom I have so great a longing, that I feel as if a part of my soul would

tear itself away from me to go to you." The General-Vicar, John Faber, also, who afterwards became one of Zwingli's most virulent enemies, joined himself to the crowd of congratulating friends. "I heartily rejoice," dearest Huldreich, "that you have been delivered out of the jaws of the murderous plague, for I entertain towards you so lively a friendship that nothing in this world would pain me more than the intelligence that any calamity had befallen you, which God in his mercy avert. And this love you well deserve, for you work with such zeal in the vineyard of the Lord that when you are in danger a calamity impends the community. The Lord himself knows, however, whom He will stir up by bitter trials to a more earnest striving after a better and a more enduring inheritance. Such a trial you have experienced from your heavenly Father." Zwingli received many other congratulations on his restitution to health, even from the distant Netherlands and from Poland. These abundantly prove to us what an important position he had already obtained in the Christian Church, both at home and abroad. But his joy, in which so many others participated, Zwingli was not permitted to taste unalloyed; for the pestilence dealt him severe wounds. In Basle there died two of his best friends, Conrad Brunner, who had counselled him to spare his health, and also John Amerbach. Hedio mentions their deaths to him in the words, "whom the Lord loves, He takes early to himself." His brother Andrew, whom Zwingli had sent to Wildhaus on the breaking out of the plague in Zurich, was seized by the destroying angel and carried away. Zwingli wept "the tears of a woman" over his beloved brother. In his own person, also, he for a long time felt the bad effects of the malady. "The plague," he wrote to his friend Myconius, "has so weakened my memory and intellect, that I sometimes in preaching altogether lose the thread of my discourse; all my members are oppressed with an indescribable weakness." At the same time, he was annoyed by pecuniary embarrassments. The receipts from his living were so small that it was impossible for him longer to support himself and his two assistants upon them. Yet he refused to accept the presents which would have richly flowed in upon him from many of his friends and admirers. He half resolved to return to Einsiedeln, to free himself from his financial difficulties. A noble

and friendly act on the part of Dr. Engelhard, preacher at the Frauen Minster, and canon at the great Minster, alone preserved the Reformer to Zurich. He resigned his canonship at the great Minster in Zwingli's favour, who thus entered into the number of the canons, while he continued to hold his office as Leut-priest. Thus Zwingli's income was not only raised, but a greater influence among the canons was secured to him, which was the more necessary, as a part of these gentlemen already looked with an eye by no means favourable on the Reformer and his labours. They had, in fact, already presented to the provost a complaint in writing against him, in which they loudly expressed their lamentations that he concerned himself so little about the funds of the foundation. "Instead of inculcating on his hearers the payment of tithes as a religious duty, he denies," said they, "their divine origin altogether, and represents their strict exaction as a tyranny. He thereby seeks to gain the confidence of the people in the same measure in which he makes the monks hated and despised as cap-divines." These canons, indeed, received no countenance to their complaint from the provost, who felt ashamed even to communicate it to Zwingli; yet it shewed their dispositions towards him. It was not, however, alone within the chapter that the decidedly evangelical direction of Zwingli's labours excited dislike and enmity; these feelings exhibited themselves in a far more repulsive manner beyond this circle.

Zwingli's worst enemies were the mercenaries and monks. Little as these people dared to meet him in open fight, they were yet not the less busy in circulating against him the most absurd calumnies, and laying all manner of snares to entrap him, and even take him, if possible, out of the way altogether.

From all parts of Switzerland and Suabia Zwingli's friends sent him accounts of the nefarious proceedings of these rancorous enemies; far and wide the closely bound association spread itself, of licentious monks and despicable mercenaries, against the champion of truth. "My bile," writes Myconius from Lucerne, "is continually roused against these serpents, who spurt out their venom against you. I can in truth say, that nothing annoys me more than to hear you or the gospel maligned. For what do you teach but the gospel? They say the affairs of Switzerland are none of your business. He has nothing else to do, say they,

but to expound and preach the gospel to the people, with exhortation and reproof, and this in all brevity; and he ought not to repeat the same things in every sermon, as if his sole object were to make himself hated through the whole of Switzerland. What means this but in plain words, Zwingli ought not to be pastor, priest, and ambassador for Christ? Those who employ such language have great numbers of the clergy on their side, who think that priests should be only priests, and ought not to mix themselves up in worldly affairs; our lords, say they, have so much wisdom and experience among themselves, that they know best what to do, and what to abstain from doing." James Salzmänn, teacher and ecclesiastic in Chur, writes: "It is my prayer, which I put up with many others, dear Zwingli, beloved in Christ, that the Almighty may stand by you with his grace; that you may make the enemies of Christ your footstool. Lately, the guild-master, Stapfer, senior, from Zurich, said at a feast here on his passing through the town on a journey to Venice: "Zwingli is the father of three children, is to be seen drunk at night on the streets, and holds pensions not only from the Pope but from the King of France too. You are said to have once exclaimed in a sermon, 'Ave Maria is as much as, God bless thee, Peggy.'" John Zwick, preacher in Constance, wrote to him: "It is publicly reported here you are married to the daughter of the Burgomaster. The report goes, too, which comes from a certain priest, that you maintained once in a sermon, that adultery is in certain circumstances lawful. For my part, I am convinced that such an idea as this never once entered your head, and have always defended you, notwithstanding I have not been able to prevent this result, namely, that many people begin to lose their good opinion of you. Several barons and noblemen, who formerly held you in much estimation, from the time that they heard your sermons in Einsiedeln, have now turned against you, and with all my efforts I cannot succeed in shaking their credence in the priest, who, they maintain, with oaths and imprecations, tells no lies."

Such and the like calumnious reports were vented with all eagerness to blast the character of Zwingli, and to check the preaching of the gospel. What were his own thoughts on the subject we learn from the following passage: "I have for some time past heard incredible lies told about me, but this has not

grieved me, for I have always kept in mind, 'the disciple is not greater than the Master.' If they lied against Christ, it is no great wonder that they lie against thee, Huldreich Zwingli."

His enemies perceiving that calumny recoiled upon themselves, like an arrow turned back by some invisible hand upon him who discharges it, determined to try more effective measures; poison or the poniard must free them from the hated witness of the truth. Myconius writes: "After the temporary defeat of the priests and monks in Zurich, and the passing of the resolution against pensions, it was by artifice that they schemed to get rid of their hated opponent. One day Zwingli received a letter, without name, to the following effect, from Suabia,—(Michael Hummelberger of Ravensburg, as afterwards appeared, was the author): "If ever thou caredst for thy life care for it now, for traps and snares are set for thee, and environ thee on every side; *deadly poison lies ready* to take thee out of the way. The perfidious wretches, not daring to attack thee openly, have fallen upon this means to remove thee from the earth, and will put poison, secretly if they can, into thy food. Be on thy guard, then. If thou art hungry, eat only of bread which thy own cook has baked; *out of thy house, thou canst not with safety eat anything*. There are people within the walls of Zurich who will do all their possible *to destroy thee*. Be on thy guard, my dearest God-beloved Huldreich; be on thy guard as thou valuest thy life; and once again, I say, take care of the motions of these envenomed though invisible serpents, and believe that all food presented thee and not prepared in thine own house is poisoned, for nowhere art thou safe; every place is fraught with danger. How I came to know of these foul designs, and what oracle discovered them to me, thou requirest not to know; but it is truer than that at Delphi. But the priest dare neither assert plainly, nor write it with impunity. Thy shrewd understanding will lead thee to guess whence this warning comes, which good-will and brotherly love to thyself have dictated to me. In haste, from Suabia. Whoever I am, I am *thine*; thou shalt afterwards know me."

But not by poison alone,—by other means of secret murder they followed after the life of the hated Zwingli. "Not an hour passed," says Myconius, "that did not give birth to some deep-laid plot amongst the laity and priests against the life of the

apostle of truth and righteousness. I pass over those not known to the world, though well known to myself; I enumerate only those well known to the public. Once there came a man at midnight to call him to the bed of a dying person. The assistant gave the answer, that Zwingli could not be roused from his sleep, for he was much fatigued by the previous day's labours; he himself would go for him. This the man would on no account permit, and thereby awakened the suspicion of some secret plot. The assistant shut the door on the man, pretending he would go and acquaint Zwingli with his wish, and left him standing outside. On the morrow they learnt that, by this opportunity, Zwingli was to have been gagged, thrown into a ship, and carried away. Not long afterwards, a horse was kept in readiness for the same purpose. Again, an assassin was to be seen, (a Zuger, as was said,) going about openly in the town, before the eyes of all, with a long sword hanging at his girdle, with which he was to have cut down Zwingli if he met him on the street by chance. The assassin was betrayed and apprehended, but escaped out of prison. Two drunken inhabitants of Zurich, whom I do not name, once attacked Zwingli's house during the night with stones, dashed in the windows, and made, what with oaths and stones together, such an infernal noise, that not one of the neighbours ventured to open a window. Nor did they desist until they ran out of stones, voice and strength. The burgomaster was made acquainted with the assault. In the morning the city-gates were shut, and the disturbers of the peace were sought for by armed men in every hole and corner, but in vain, till some women who knew about the affair, in their garrulity, involuntarily betrayed one, (the other had already escaped.) He was drawn out of the wine cask of a certain priest, and with loud reproaches conducted to prison. After a long consultation, he was condemned to imprisonment for life, but he was liberated at the petition of the Bernese, after an incarceration of a few weeks."

It was the habit of Zwingli at this time to sup at a friend's house, or in the guild-rooms. On such occasions, he was conducted home by some of the respectable citizens, with the view of defending him from harm on the way, without his knowing the benevolent intention of the convoy thus given. The Council, too, caused, in these dangerous times, his house to be guarded. Yet,

if the eye of God had not graciously watched over His faithful servant, and if His almighty arm had not defended him, all the care and watchfulness of friends would have been in vain.

In all these trials and persecutions, Zwingli found a rich consolation in the growing numbers of his warm-hearted personal friends, devoted, like himself, to the cause of the gospel. In every town and canton of Switzerland men came forward, who, animated by the heroic courage and surpassing joy which Zwingli drew from the gospel, recognised it as a power of God to make all blessed who believe it. They preached it according to their several capacities. In St. Gall, there laboured in the cause of the gospel the friend of Zwingli's youth, Vadian; in Chur, Salzmann, already mentioned; in Schaffhausen, Sebastian Wagner, surnamed Hofmeister, and, at a later period, Erasmus Ritter also; in Lucerne, Oswald Myconius, and the canons Zimmermann and Kirchmeier; in Berne, Francis Kolb, Sebastian Meier, and above all, Berchthold Haller, who made a journey from Berne to Zurich, for the express purpose of making Zwingli's acquaintance, and of confirming his own faith in the vicinity of the Lord's chosen vessel. From Schwyz, the state-clerk, Stapfer, who had once had his own and his family's bodily wants supplied by the kind hand of Zwingli, begged that he would now extend to him the bread of life. In Art, (Canton Schwyz) Balthasar Trachsler proclaimed the gospel. In Solothurn, the schoolmaster, Macrin or Duerr, was faithfully devoted to Zwingli. From Freiburg, (Uechtland), the organist, Kotter, writes to him: "all here praise with one voice thy undertaking to bring to light the Word of God. It is to be hoped it will not want a blessing." In Basle, Zwingli had also many friends devoted in like measure to the cause of the Gospel. In 1520 he had revisited them in the company of his former master George Binzli (now parson at Wesen) and on this occasion had gained new friends. After the departure, first of Capito, then of Hedio, from Basle to Mayence, and from thence to Strasburg, John Ecolampadius became the principal herald of the truth at Basle. Soon after his arrival in this city, he wrote to Zwingli: "Whether I will or not, I cannot refrain from seeking your friendship, that I may be quickened by your ardent zeal. Who can resist loving him who advances with such ardour and energy the cause of Christ?" &c. &c. In

Strasburg Zwingli had, besides Capito and Hedio, Bucer as an intimate personal friend. In Nurnberg there were his friends Wilibald Pirkheimer and Albrecht Duerer, in Frankfort, Professor Nesen of Hessen, whom Luther visited on his journey to Worms. Suabia contained, in almost every town, personal friends of Zwingli.

While all these eyed Zwingli as a guiding star or beacon, it was above all, in Germany that the friends of evangelical truth turned their eyes in hope to the Swiss mountains, as Luther, under a cloud of outlawry and excommunication, vanished so mysteriously on his return journey from Worms (April, 1521). The hopes of the Germans in the ultimate victory of truth lived anew when they heard with what vigour and zeal Zwingli was proclaiming the truth in Switzerland, and with what intrepidity he was there combatting the ravenous wolves in sheep's clothing who ravaged the flock of Christ. All who were forced to flee from Germany or France for the faith turned their footsteps to Zurich. Thus, one day, there came from Mayence Otto von Brunfels, with a recommendatory letter from Nesen to Zwingli. "I pray you, in the name of Christ, to receive those men who are forced to flee before a corrupt clergy. If you help this man with your fellow-citizens, who, as we well know, are freer than all other Germans, you do a service not only to religion but to learning." At Avignon a bare-footed monk leaves his cloister, in consequence of the persecutions to which he is subjected by his brethren for his inclination to evangelical doctrines, and rides one evening on a she-ass through the gates of Zurich, that he might see and converse with Zwingli, to whom he had been recommended by Haller of Berne. After being farther advanced by him in the knowledge of evangelical truth, and especially instructed as to the inadmissibility of the adoration of the saints, the pilgrim thanked God, and proceeded to Germany. Who was this? It was the afterwards famous Lambert of Avignon, who became Professor of Theology at Strasburg and then at Marburg, and who, in the latter position, contributed so materially to the success of the Reformation in Hessen.

Thus all hearts that had a longing after evangelical truth inclined in love and admiration towards Zwingli, just in the proportion that the enemies of the truth hated him.

6. HOW ZWINGLI REGARDED HIS LABOURS AND TRIALS, AS SHEWN
IN LETTERS TO HIS BROTHERS AND FRIENDS.

Having thus reviewed the multifarious labours and manifold trials which chequered the life of the Reformer within the above space of time, (from 1519 to 1523,) we shall cast a glance at the manner in which he himself regarded these, and see from what source he derived courage to hazard, and fortitude to endure his trials. He gives us on this point a solution, with the greatest candour, in a letter addressed to his brothers, under date 17th September 1522, and in some other letters to his friends.

"Dear brothers," he writes, "I hear how your hearts have been disturbed by the infamous reports which, contrary to all truth, have been spread abroad about me, but to which I know, in your brotherly love towards me, you will lend no ear, as you know me better. Yet you desired to hear from myself upon the subject, and were displeased that I have not answered your wish sooner. Know then, first, that I am well informed how it goes with you; for I often make inquiries about you. When I hear that ye live by the labour of your hands, as your fathers before you, I rejoice, because I see that you preserve the nobility you derive from Adam. As often, however, as I hear that some of you, at the risk of body and soul, serve for pay in foreign wars, this grieves me to the heart. I lament that out of honest peasants and field labourers you make yourselves robbers and murderers, for the mercenaries are nothing better. Of those who attend to their domestic economy, and rule their servants well, I have the best opinion; but to those who set off to the wars I can prophesy nothing else but misery and eternal damnation. God grant you the same mind in this matter as I have, so that ye may never do the like again, as indeed you have promised to me. Ye should also give heed that I do faithfully the work to which God has called me, let it go with me as it may, without letting myself be daunted by its unspeakable difficulties, and without regard to men who will not bend and humble themselves to the wholesome work of God. I know very well what my good friend, my lord of Fischingen,* our cousin, means. I should go cautiously to work, else

* The brother of Zwingli's mother, *vide* page 1.

great mischief may befall me. God reward the kind-hearted man for his good-will. He has ever loved me as his own child, and I know that his warning flows from the purest affection. But be assured no danger can approach me which I have not well weighed. I know that my own strength is not sufficient, and I know just as well how strong they are who contend against the doctrine of God. I can, however, like Paul, do all through Christ strengthening me. For what is my speech, how could it avail to bring any sinner back to the way of life, if the power and the Spirit of God did not work with it? Suppose, also, that I were to hold my peace, would not another do that which God bids me do, while I should be severely punished by God, like the lying son in Matthew (chap. xxi. 38), who said to his father, I will go into the vineyard, and yet went not. God will go on to do as He has hitherto done, namely, to regenerate a corrupt world by His Word. To the inhabitants of Sodom, to the Ninevites, to the corrupt generation that lived at the times of Noah, to the children of Israel when they were sunk the deepest in idolatry, God sent His prophets to proclaim His truth. They who turned from their evil ways were spared. They who despised His Word were destroyed or taken captive. Now, do we not see in our own times corruption gaining such a head in all lands, and in all ranks, as to cause us to shudder at it? Yet if in the midst of all this corruption, a revelation is made of God's Word anew, is not this a plain proof that such revelation comes from God, who wills not that the creatures whom He has purchased with his own blood should be lost in such multitudes, and should so miserably perish. Now set the great human corruption, and the true Word of God, the one against the other, you will find that the former will not let itself be brought into contact with or touched by the latter. If in these circumstances, he into whose mouth the Word of the Lord is put yields or neglects his duty, he must account for those who are lost, seeing that, as Isaiah says, he saw the sword coming, and gave no warning. If, on the other hand, he opposes a sinful and arrogant world, he is driven from it, he is pursued with curses and maledictions, nay, killed. Which now, think ye, is the better lot of the two? Is it better that I should keep silence, that the evil which I ought to ward off should get the upper hand, and that against a short space of worldly honour

and repose, I should be the devil's servant? I know that your answer to this will be, No, but that I ought to rebuke faults with greater mildness. But tell me; think ye the vices of the present time to be so small that my words appear too rough? If you think so, you err greatly. They are so great that the sternest words of the prophet are not enough to rebuke, nor the hottest wrath of God enough to punish them. The menace of Jonah would better suit our vices: 'Yet forty days and Nineveh will be overthrown.' Therefore hold your peace. I fear God much more in this respect, that I say too little than that I say too much. Or do you desire rather that I lose mine honour, my means, my life, for the salvation of many good and pious souls, and that mine own soul be raised by His grace to eternal felicity? You say, Yes! but it would be for us a great shame if you were put to death and burnt, even although we knew that wrong was done you; then I answer, Christ, whose soldier I am, says, Luke vi. 22, 23: 'Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of Man's sake: Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven.' Behold, then, the more my name is evil spoken of before men for the sake of God, the more it is esteemed by God. And so it shall be. He that will come to God must look to that which He will, not to that which men will, who cannot save him, but who are quite competent to sink him in everlasting damnation. The body they can kill, but not the soul, and all they who kill us in the body for the Lord's sake slay their own souls, be they who they may,—king, emperor, pope, bishop, or others. The gospel of Christ (the good tidings which God hath spoken to man through his Son), has the quality derived from the blood of Christ perpetuated even to the present hour, that it is most effective in its application and spreads itself most under persecution. Christ has shed His blood for our salvation. Now, do you consider that man to be a true-hearted soldier of the cross, who will not shed his blood for his Lord and Captain, and who flinches where his Lord before him, and for him, dared death; the true soldier of Christ is ready to let his head be blown to atoms for His Master's sake. For he who is ashamed of Christ and his name before men, of him also will the Son of man be ashamed before His heavenly Father.

Therefore, dear brothers, if any man tell you that I sin in respect of pride, intemperance, uncleanness, believe what they say ; for, alas ! I am too much inclined by nature to these, and such like vices. But if any tell you that, for money's sake, I can teach false doctrine, then believe it not, not although it should be confirmed by oath, for I am under obligations to no master on earth, not by a single heller. The pecuniary obligation I was under to the Romish Pope has been cancelled several years ago. I held for a time that it was justifiable in me to take money from the Pope, and that it was my duty to defend his doctrine. When, however, as Paul says, 'I came to the knowledge of sin,' I renounced his money. His agents, out of rage at this renunciation, maliciously endeavoured to make that out to be a crime in me which they impressed upon all men as a duty towards God ; God forgive them, and ourselves too, all our sins. If any one tell you I blaspheme God and the Virgin Mary, or that I falsify God's Word, believe it not. For all my labour, care, and anxiety, have no other object than to shew to men the great grace and salvation which the Son of God, born of the holy Virgin, has obtained for man, that he may flee for refuge to God through the dear sacred sufferings of Christ ; that Christ's doctrine may be set in the foreground, the doctrine of men in the background ; that God's Word may remain pure and unadulterated. You are my brothers by father and mother ; but if you be not my brethren in the mind of God, I am sorry for it, because then I must needs renounce you, nay even leave father and mother unburied, if peradventure ye should attempt to draw me away from God. As to the revilings, attributed to me, of the Virgin Mary, be assured they are false. I hold of the Blessed Virgin, what a Christian ought to hold, and have much too high an opinion of her to regard the gossip and lies of every story-teller ; I for my part may not lie, and say more of her than that which the Scriptures of the holy Gospels tell me. The men who thus maliciously calumniate me, do it not to promote the glory of God or of Mary, but solely because the Word of God, which I preach, conflicts with their luxury, their avarice, their knavery, their villany. It drags these vices to the light of day, and this light the vices cannot bear. But as the common man holds the Virgin in high veneration, they hope in this manner to make me incur

his hatred, that thus the Word of God may find less acceptance with him. Let them alone. They are blind leaders of the blind. Let not the talk of these people disturb you, and know that it cannot change my opinion. I shall quietly await whatever issue God may grant to this matter. Christ our Lord and Saviour has himself been put to death. I commend you to God, who will instruct and guide you. I remain ever your brother, provided always you are brethren of Christ."

To Berchthold Haller in Berne he wrote, in the following terms, towards the close of the year 1521: "I know well that sometimes out of weakness a sense of disgust will come over us, when we are reviled being innocent, and especially when we think we have done all for the best. But repentance succeeds when Christ excites the conscience by these stings and incitements with which He awakens the indolent or rebellious spirit, now by His threatenings, now by His promises, as for example when he says: 'He who is ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my Father, and he who denies me, him will I also deny;' or, 'He who loves his life in this world shall lose it;' or, 'Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant; because thou hast not given out thy pound to interest;' or, 'The salt that has lost its savour is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, that it may be trodden under foot of men;' or, 'Blessed are ye when ye shall suffer persecution for righteousness' sake;' or, 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you,' &c. When I take to heart the soul-strengthening words, and the glorious examples set us by Christ and the Apostles, then the thought becomes right lively within me, to suffer all for Christ's sake. If on the other hand, I look to our unhappy times, in which insolence and ingratitude, I had almost said total insensibility to right and wrong, have seized, penetrated, poisoned all hearts, I am filled with sentiments of a contrary nature, and scarce know with certainty what to think. But when I collect my thoughts, it again becomes clear to me that none of these things happen but by the will of God; and that He means thereby to cut off from those who will not otherwise approach Him in faith, every place of refuge and way of escape, and thus compel them to throw themselves unreservedly into His arms, that, deprived of all human resources, we may betake ourselves to Him who is the living God."

In a letter to Myconius, of the 12th August 1522, Zwingli thus expresses himself: "If I were not convinced that the Lord guarded the town, I had long ago taken my hand from the helm; but seeing, as I do, that He makes fast the rope, hoists the yards, spreads the canvass, and commands the winds, I were indeed a coward, undeserving the name of a man, if I were to leave my post, and after all, I should still in the end die a death of shame. I will, therefore, trust myself entirely to His goodness; He shall lead and guide me; He shall accelerate or procrastinate; He shall advance or delay the voyage; He shall send calm, or tempest to overwhelm me in the sea. I will not be impatient. I am verily but a weak vessel; He can employ me to honour or to dishonour. I often indeed pray to Him that He would bring my flesh under His government, and destroy its lazy wayward contradictoriness, which is ever slow to obedience, and, like a woman, will ever have the last word, and know the reason of everything. *I still hold the opinion that the Christian Church, originally purchased by the blood of Christ, can be renewed alone by the blood of the witnesses for the truth, and in no other way.*"

In this chapter we have restricted ourselves to the quotation of Zwingli's own words, that we might thereby enable the reader to obtain a deeper and a clearer insight into the Reformer's noble and heroic heart.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE REFORMATION EFFECTED BY ZWINGLI.
1523—1526.

“Behold! I make all things new.”—Rev. xxi. 5.

1. THE FERMENTATION CONTINUES—A NEW POSITION GAINED.

ZWINGLI had now, for the space of four years, proclaimed the Word of God in Zurich, and, at the same time, laid its doctrines and claims before his spiritual and secular superiors in writing. Fruitfully as the scattered seeds of the holy doctrine manifested themselves in the minds of his hearers at Zurich, his representations to the Bishop of Constance and to the Confederate Diet, were unproductive of any good result. No abuses were abolished; the petition of the magistracy of Zurich for illumination upon the points in debate had been disregarded; bishop and Diet maintained the prohibition of the preaching of the Word of God, nay, they began to adopt violent measures against the preachers of it, wherever they could.

Urban Weiss, parson at Fislisbach, in the county of Baden, had announced to his hearers from the pulpit, upon his return from the above-mentioned meeting of the Chapter at Rapperschwyl: “Christians must not call on the Virgin Mary or other saints for help.” “Farther,” he said, “he was betrothed to a virgin, and, in the event of marriage being granted to the priests, he would fulfil his vow.” The bishop accused this priest before the Diet in Baden, who made him prisoner, and had him brought to Constance as a criminal, where he was kept for a time in close confinement by the orders of the bishop. Other priests devoted to evangelical doctrine were subjected to similar prosecutions. This joint interference on the part of the bishop and the Diet encouraged Zwingli’s enemies to renewed hostility. The mer-

cenaries threatened; the monks raged furiously from their pulpits against the preacher of the Gospel, calling him heretic and seducer of the souls of men; their devotees offered to supply wood free of cost to burn him. But firm and immovable stood Zwingli, and proclaimed only with increased earnestness and unction the Word of God. "I am indeed harrassed on every side," he wrote to Ecolampadius, "but I remain unshaken, leaning not on my own strength but on the rock Christ, through whom I can do all things. He it is who lends me strength and courage." His numerous friends felt themselves strengthened and encouraged on their part also to wage manfully the combat of truth against falsehood. The gospel numbered in the ranks of its firmest supporters many highly educated youths from the first families of Zurich. With the ardour of youth, which often rises to presumption, these youths began to break in upon and interrupt the preaching of the monks, to contradict them or to challenge them to prove by the Word of God the doctrine advanced. The Little Council administered reproofs to the young zealots for their audacious conduct, and commanded them to peace and silence; some of them they caused to be arrested. Once Leo Jud, who, at the beginning of this year (1523), entered on his cure at Zurich; interrupted an Augustine monk in his sermon, who was maintaining with great emphasis, "that man could satisfy divine justice himself" "Most worthy father," cried Leo Jud, interrupting him in the friendliest manner possible, "hear me a moment, and ye my dear fellow-citizens remain silent while I speak as becomes a Christian." He then proved to the people by Scripture the falseness of the doctrine just preached to them. "The occurrence," writes Zwingli, "which empowered the Little Council to call both parties before them, and appoint them a hearing, led to the result that not only the truth, but ultimately the malice of these people came to light by the judicial investigation."

But the Reformer proceeded to adopt more effective means to display the enemies of the gospel in their true colours before the world, and at the same time to carry the banner of truth to victory. In his sermons, as well as by special remonstrance, he impressed upon the Little and Great Councils the necessity of ordaining a public *conference upon matters connected with religion*. He did this, that he might be put in a position to give an account

of his doctrine before the Bishop's agents, and indeed before every one, let him be learned or unlearned. He proposed that if it should be found by plain deductions from the Word of God that he was in the wrong, he would then not only allow himself to be corrected but also punished; if, on the other hand, he should be found to be right, then he would be entitled to protection, and the truth must not be suppressed nor be evil spoken of. *The ultimate decision, however, was to lie in the Word of God alone.* It was a matter of the greatest importance, that the Great Council of Zurich was by this proposal to institute and conduct the Religious Conference, for on the one hand the episcopal authority was thereby transferred practically into their hands, and on the other hand, the stream of the Reformation, which by the interference of head-strong men, who wanted the necessary Christian consecration to the work, threatened to overflow its banks with devastating fury, was restrained within a regular and legal channel. Probably no one but the Reformer himself saw in its whole extent the important bearing of this condition annexed by him to his proposal.

As the Swiss Reformation took its peculiar course and peculiar shape from this diversion which Zwingli gave it, it is necessary, in order to follow accurately the whole course of the Reformation itself, to understand thoroughly the nature of this turn which Zwingli gave it. Let us hear how Zwingli himself describes it: "I shall now state," says he, "for what reason we avail ourselves of the services of the Council of Two Hundred in Zurich, because some reproach us with letting that be done by two hundred which it is the business of the whole ecclesiastical community, consisting of about seven thousand souls, to do. The matter stands thus. We, the preachers of the Word of God in Zurich, on the one hand, give the Council of Two Hundred plainly to understand, that we commit to them the decision of that which properly belongs to the whole Church to decide, only on the condition that, in their consultations and conclusions, they hold themselves to the Word of God alone; and, on the other hand, that they only act so far in the name of the Church, as the Church tacitly and voluntarily adopts their conclusions and ordinances. We have also published this our opinion to the whole Church, and at the same time signified to them that, at the pre-

sent time, when some are impelled, by the most foolish ideas, which they give out as inspirations of the Holy Spirit, it is not expedient to vest the decision of certain points in the whole people. Not as though we feared that God would not stand by and govern and direct his Church, but because at these first beginnings of our ecclesiastical polity we must avoid all occasions of strife. Therefore we have advised the people that they commit the decision of external things and of rites to the Council of Two Hundred, *under the condition that all be regulated according to the rule of God's Word, while we promise that, as soon as they, on any point, do not recognise the authority of the Word of God, we shall forthwith signify the same to them, and exclaim against their decision.* With this arrangement the Church is agreed, although she has not issued any public announcement upon the subject; but she manifests her consent to it, by gratefully and quietly submitting to it, from which it is clear that she will take it ill if any one should be presumptuous enough to hinder the progress of the Gospel by indulging in hair-splitting distinctions. She knows well, too, that we must keep Christ and our own honour in view alone, if we are to acquit ourselves of our task with a regard to Christian unity. What, however, respects the changes to be proposed, the Council of Two Hundred will decide upon these. For such a course of procedure we have examples in Scripture. The Church at Antioch, as is well known, sent only Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, and passed no resolution themselves, which they could have done; this they did that they might avoid strife, of which there is ever the greater risk the greater the multitude is with whom the ultimate decision rests. That the Two Hundred, however, act in such matters *in name of the Church and not in their own name*, is evident from the circumstance, that what they have with us ordained in respect to the venerating of images, the celebration of the Sacrament, and so on, has been left free in the other communities of town and country, because in these, where the numbers are smaller the spirit of disunion is the less to be feared. This measure has had such success that it is very plain it is in accordance with the will of God. We first, above all things, instructed well the Christian commonalty upon that which the Council had to decide, and thus it came that all upon which the Two Hundred took order

with the servants of the Word had already been accepted by the faithful. Finally, we turned to the Council of Two Hundred with the petition that, in name of the whole Church, they would be pleased to secure that all should be done decently and in order. In this manner strife and disunion have been averted from our Church, evils the presence of which was much to be apprehended, from its great populousness, and the intemperance of some individuals in it; while to dissentients a hearing was given, and, indeed, the ears of the magistrates and of the courts have been pretty well accustomed to debates and squabbles. 'Tis thus in Zurich that, instead of the Church, we avail ourselves in the decision of religious questions, of the Council of Two Hundred, which is the highest civil power."

Such is the position which Zwingli from the first took up, after he had convinced himself that the heads of the Church, so far from advancing the work of Reformation, would combat it to the utmost of their power. By this sagacious measure it became possible for him to save the Reformation from the horrors of revolution, and in a free state, too, where much less power is lodged in the hands of the supreme authority than in a monarchy. Again, by the operation of this measure, the refining and sanctifying influence of the gospel was made to pervade the whole of civil life, because the magistracy were compelled to adapt their resolutions and ordinations to God's Word, and to regulate their lives and conversation by its rules; the clergy were guardians and protectors of the Divine rights, and the whole Christian community meanwhile exercised a strict and faithful supervision over the measures of the government, and over the morals of its members. The Christian state, or the Christian magistracy, as the representative of God on earth, thus became a reality, without the Church and her servants being trammelled in the duties which they owed to the gospel.

After lengthened deliberation, the Great Council resolved, on the Saturday following the Circumcision of Christ, the 3d January 1523, to accede to the desire of Zwingli, and to appoint the Conference on matters of religion to be held on the 29th January. The circular calling the clergy is highly characteristic of the new position in which the Council found itself placed. "We, Burgo-masters, Little and Great Councils, to all the clergy in our district, salutations, and the expression of our favourable dispositions.

Disunion has manifested itself among us, and dissension exists among our preachers. Some preachers believe that they have faithfully proclaimed the gospel; whereas others maintain that these promulgate error, mislead the people, and, in fact, are heretics, although they are willing to maintain and defend, by proofs from Holy Scripture, the doctrine which they teach. Therefore, animated with the best intentions, and above all, to maintain the honour of God, peace, and Christian unity, we declare it to be our pleasure that ye, parsons, priests, and preachers, jointly and severally, or other priests, who are willing to speak, to reprove, or instruct the other part, do present yourselves at our Town-hall at the early hour of business on the first day after the Emperor Charles' day; and it is likewise our pleasure, if it do then and there come to a disputation, that this be carried on in the German tongue and language, and with proofs drawn from Holy Scripture. With all diligence, and with the assistance of some learned men, we shall give attention, in the event of its appearing good to us so to do, and according as the same shall be found to be agreeable to the Word of God and truth, *to send each and all of you home with the order either to continue or to desist from his kind of preaching, that from henceforth each may not preach from the pulpit what seems good to himself, and without foundation.* We shall also intimate the same to our gracious lord the Bishop of Constance, that his Grace, or his representatives, if they choose, may be present. But if any be contrarious, and bring not to his argument the true and genuine Word of God, we shall take such measures with him as we might rather avoid. Finally, we trust that God will illuminate our own souls with the light of His truth, that we may walk as children of the light." In the meanwhile, the magistracy, as the new depository of episcopal power, was induced by Zwingli to adopt proceedings which plainly displayed the beneficial tendencies of the new order of things. The public-houses were better looked after, riotous behaviour on the part of the youth and students was restrained, women of ill fame were ordered to leave the town, and four members of the Little Council, living in open adultery, were excluded for half-a-year from the sederunts. Zwingli himself prepared for the Religious Conference, and wrote down sixty-seven propositions as theses to be

disputed upon, which he had printed. He concluded his little work with the words: "In this disputation, let none contend with the arms of subtle disquisition or sophistical cavilling, but let him come with Holy Scripture, which is the alone standard for the judges, that we may find the truth, and having found it, as I hope we shall, may keep it."

Zwingli, when he heard that Faber was coming to the debate, wrote to Ecolompad in these words: "The Lord grant that he be not hindered from coming, that neither Rome nor Constance may be disappointed of their wonted jubilee."

2. THE FIRST RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE IN ZURICH, HELD ON THE 29TH JANUARY 1523.

On the 29th January, a Thursday, there assembled, at an early hour of the morning, about six hundred persons, in the Great Council's Hall at Zurich. There appeared in the Assembly, as representatives of the Bishop, Knight James von Anwyl, High Steward, John Faber, General Vicar, Dr. Martin Blansch, of Tuebingen. Other men of rank and learning also gave their attendance. The Diet of the Confederacy, which had met at Baden a short time before, had been invited to send deputies, but had not condescended to reply. From Berne there came uninvited Dr. Sebastian Meyer, from Schaffhausen, Sebastian Hofmeister, from Zurich itself, the canons, clergy, and men of learning, as well as a vast number of citizens and country people; "for with many," writes Bullinger, "there was a great wonderment what would come out of this affair." In the centre of a vacant circle sat Zwingli alone at a table, on which were spread out open Bibles, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. All eyes were turned upon the Reformer. The burgomaster arose, Marx Roist, a hoary-headed warrior, who had fought with Zwingli in the battle of Marignano, and addressed the Assembly as follows: "Venerable and learned lords,—In Zurich, for sometime past, considerable dissension has been created on account of the doctrine of our predicant Magister Huldreich Zwingli; by some he has been termed a corrupter of the people, by others a heretic. Among

clergy and laity the discontent increases, and almost daily we have complaints upon this subject. From the pulpit Magister Zwingli has offered to give an account of his doctrine if a public disputation before clergy and laity were granted him. We have conceded to him the liberty to hold the same before the Great Council, and have summoned all the priests and curates of our district, and have also invited our venerable lord and prince, the Bishop of Constance. We have, in an especial manner, to express our thanks that he has been pleased to send to us his highly esteemed deputies. Whoever, then, is dissatisfied or doubtful in regard to that which Magister Huldreich has taught from the pulpit, and whosoever can shew that his sermons and doctrines have been seditious or heretical, let him now, at this opportunity given, prove to him, with God's help, his error, that my lords of the Council may be spared in future the complaints of disunion and contention daily made both by clergy and laity, of which my lords are thoroughly tired."

The steward of the Bishop then rose and said: "My gracious master well knows that in his bishopric dissensions and strife have arisen, by reason of certain doctrines or preachings, although he has ever had it at heart to promote peace; and for this end has sent his delegates hither. We are to hear the causes of such disunion, and advise the best which may advantage an honourable Council in Zurich, and a reverend clergy. Therefore we shall, for the sake of peace and unity, seek to allay the fermentation and dissension, until my lord, with his men of learning and prelates, has considered and resolved farther upon it." Zwingli now addressed the assembly: "From time immemorial," said he, "God has revealed his will to the human race. His Word tells us this. Pure and clear is this word in itself; but, by the additions and doctrines of men, it has been in years gone by, and still is in our days, so darkened and defaced, that the greater part of those who call themselves Christians are wholly ignorant of the Divine will, and know nothing but a worship invented by man, and a pretended sanctity resting solely on external observances. To such delusions they have been misled by those who ought to have been their guides to the fountain of truth in the word of Christ, as contained in His gospel and the writings of His apostles. Now that some begin to point to this source, lo! they are

esteemed to be not Christians at all, but are scouted as corrupters of the Church, nay, as heretics. For such an one I am regarded; and although I now, in my fifth year in this town, proclaim nothing but Christ's saving message to man, yet this has not served to justify me as my lords here of the Council well know. For this cause, and I thank them for it, they have granted me this public disputation. I have drawn up propositions which contain the sum of that which I have hitherto taught. That these propositions are agreeable to the gospel, I hope to make clear to every one, and also to our gracious lord the Bishop of Constance, or his representatives. The Spirit of God hath compelled me to speak; He knows too why He hath chosen me, all unworthy as I am, as His herald. Go on, then, in God's name. Here I am to answer you." Upon this, the General-Vicar Faber said: "My esteemed brother Zwingli assures us that he has always preached the gospel in Zurich. Truly I do not doubt that: for what preacher called of God would not preach the gospel. He means to vindicate his doctrine; I could have wished he had come to Constance, where I would have testified my friendship for him. I am not here to contend against evangelic or apostolic doctrine, but to listen, in event of dispute to decide, and, in a word, to do all that makes for peace, and, if possible, to prevent any public disturbance; for this Paul and the gospel enjoin on us. But if one will here lay his hand upon venerable rites and long established usages, I declare here, as the ambassador of my lord the Bishop of Constance, that I have orders in that case not to interfere at all. Such affairs belong wholly to general councils of nations, and of their bishops, for it would be highly injurious to pass some resolution here, which might not be accepted somewhere else. Schisms would thus arise in the Church. I therefore advise to forbear from constitutions which are a hundred years old, or which are of Papal or ecclesiastical appointment; and the more so, as my lord the Bishop is informed, that the States of the empire have resolved to call a general council to meet at Nurnberg* within a year's time. Besides, who in such disputations is to be the judge? It is only at the high schools of learning, such

* To prevent the Diet, which had then met at Nurnberg, from adopting measures of vigour in matters of religion, the prospect of the speedy calling of a general council was held out by the papal ambassadors.

as Paris, Cologne or Louvaine,* that men of the requisite capacity for such an office are to be found."

"And why," said Zwingli, jeeringly, "not at Erfurt or Wittenberg?† Dear brethren, my lord Vicar employs against your simplicity much art, and deals in the flowers of rhetoric to turn you from your purpose. We do not inquire how long anything has been *the custom*; we speak of *truth* as it is presented to us in the Divine law. Use and wont must yield to this. Does one speak of a Christian assembly? then I think there is one here in this room: for the Lord himself hath said, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Bishops, too, are amongst us, not powerful mighty princes as we have them at the present day, but overseers and teachers of the Christian flock, called bishops by the apostle. And wherefore do we require judges? we who have here the Holy Scriptures in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and learned men who understand these languages as well as those in the so-called high schools. And even if this were not the case, there are yet among us so many Christian spirits, that, with God's assistance, it may readily be made clear to us which party rightly, which party wrongly, interprets Scripture. But, finally, as to what concerns the Nurnberg business, I tell you, dear friends, that of late I have received from thence three letters, which I could now lay before you, none of which contains a single word in regard to any resolution being passed to call a Council; popes, bishops, and prelates are represented, on the contrary, as most of all against it. Let not the speech you have just heard cause you any alarm. And ye of Zurich ought to look upon it as a distinguished favour, and a special call of God to do His work, that such an assembly as this can take place among you."

A lengthened pause succeeded Zwingli's words, which was broken by the Burgomaster's challenge: "If there be any one present who has anything to object to Zwingli and his doctrine, let him now do so." All remained silent. Zwingli then said: "In Christian love I entreat each and every man who holds the doctrine I preach to be false or erroneous, to express his dissent without hesitation. I know there are several here who have

* Three schools, particularly averse to the Reformation, and which had condemned Luther's Theses.

† Luther had studied at Erfurt, and was now teaching at Wittenberg.

accused me of heresy; I do not wish to be forced to call upon them by name." The Abbot of Kappel, Wolfgang Joner, who held evangelical opinions, said: "Where are the men who would burn us, and who have already provided wood for the purpose? Let them come forward; there stands the man who is ready to give you answer." None entering the lists against Zwingli, James Wagner, parson at Neftenbach, said: "Our gracious lord of Constance has, within the last year, issued a mandate, in which he commands that the traditions and doctrines of men be held and observed until they shall be altered or abrogated by a General Council. But as none comes forward now to speak against Zwingli's articles, which are diametrically opposed to that which the Bishop commands us to observe, I hope that from henceforward we shall be no longer bound by the said mandate, but be free to preach the Word of God fully and purely, and to let human traditions alone. We know, too, that parson Urban Weiss of Fislisbach, has been, in accordance with the said mandate, imprisoned, and brought as a common malefactor to Constance. If, however, we teach and preach according to the mandate, the articles of Zwingli cannot be defended, and they must be false. Nevertheless, as none here will adventure to attack the same, and to prove their fallacy, it is much to be feared that injustice has been done to the parson of Fislisbach. This much I felt myself compelled, in my simplicity, to say, as Urban Weiss is our brother, and I might willingly know how we are to hold ourselves in respect of said mandate."

The General-Vicar could not remain longer silent. "As this speech concerns my gracious master, and in part also me, his vicar (although I was out of the country when the said mandate was issued), I declare that my gracious lord must have seen the necessity for it, there being in his diocese so many foolish and ill-instructed parsons, who utter great nonsense. The parson of Fislisbach is an illiterate, unreasonable man, who gives utterance to such indecent speeches, that one feels ashamed anywhere to repeat them. I have, out of compassion to him, conversed with him in regard to prayer and petition to the blessed saints, and convinced him of his error, proving to him, out of the first and second books of Moses, out of Ezekiel and Baruch, that before the birth of Christ the blessed saints were worshipped and invoked, that they might intercede for others, and I suc-

ceeded in inducing him to acknowledge his errors. He is now willing to recant all he has taught in respect of the Mother of God and the blessed saints, so that I hope he will express his great obligations to me for the trouble I have taken, and will shortly receive his liberty." Zwingli hastily struck in at these words: "God has, without doubt, disposed it that the General-Vicar has touched upon the adoration of the saints, for it is made to me the matter of greatest reproach that I do not teach the duty of prayer to the saints, and that I shew that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour and Intercessor between us and His heavenly Father, as Holy Scripture clearly teaches us. My lord vicar having now publicly boasted that he has converted the parson of Fislisbach from his error by certain passages of Scripture, to which he directed his attention, I shall ask nothing more of him but that he kindly communicate to us the passages referred to." The General-Vicar replied: "I see, dear sirs, that the tables are turned against me. 'The fool is easily caught in his words,' says the proverb. I have my foolishness to blame for it that I allowed myself to speak, having expressly said I should not dispute. There have arisen, many hundred years ago, heretics who rejected the adoration of the saints, purgatory, &c. The Fathers, however, have condemned them in the Councils. Even in recent times, the Bohemians and Picardians,* misled by Wickliff† and Huss,‡ have brought in again heretical doctrines, and there are those at the present day who would lead the people from ancient usages which have lasted twelve centuries. If all that the Holy Fathers have done is to go for nothing, we are come to a poor pass. Has then Christendom been in error fourteen hundred years? The adoration of the saints has lasted ever since the time of Gregory (elected Pope A.D. 716)." Zwingli replied: "My lord vicar, such

* The Waldenses were called Picardians, from Picardy, a department in France, where they were to be found in great numbers. Faber said, on his return to Constance, "I believed myself in Picardy, it so swarmed with heretics at Zurich."

† John Wickliff (born 1324), Professor of Divinity at Oxford, belongs to the forerunners of the Reformation, inasmuch as he boldly attacked the corruptions in the Church, and laid down the doctrine that "in matters of faith Scripture alone must decide."


‡ John Huss (born 1373, as martyr to the faith burned at Constance 1415), is also a forerunner of the Reformers. He was brought to the knowledge of the truth chiefly by reading Wickliff's writings.

digressions are out of place. Shew us, I pray you, the passages of Holy Scripture with which you have convinced the parson of Fislisbach of his error. Answer in simple distinct language, Here and here it is so written; we shall then examine the passages, and illuminate the matter farther. Fathers and Councils are no authority to us, except when they prove what they say by Scripture. Every body knows that the Councils contradict each other. What is set up in the one is thrown down in the other; for proof of this I remind you of the question of the marriage of priests. It is well known that the Litany existed before the time of Gregory; and that there certainly were Christians before the introduction of the Litany. We too have enough in Christ, and can dispense with human ordinances." At the mention of the marriage of the priests, the Vicar conceived he had an opportunity to escape from the demands of his opponent, and he plunged into a historical disquisition upon this subject. Zwingli did not allow himself to be duped by this artifice, but, interrupting him, said: "And although you were to maintain and prove that the prohibition of marriage to the priests has existed since the times of the apostles, yet such a prohibition is nowhere to be found in God's Word, which, on the contrary, allows it, as I have already proved. But what we desire from you now is, that you shew us the passages of Holy Scripture in which adoration of the saints is permitted and enjoined, for this is the point." The Vicar was at length obliged to take up the unpleasant subject. "We have in the Christian Church," said he, "the custom, of long-standing, observed by the whole of Christendom, and confirmed by the Litany and Mass-canon, to call on the Mother of God and the blessed saints to intercede for us. The Mother of God herself gives us instruction on this point, as in Luke she says, 'from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed;' and again, 'blessed art thou among women;' and the woman in the gospel, 'blessed is the womb that bare thee.'" *Zwingli*: "All these places of Holy Scripture prove the glory and excellence of Mary, with regard to which there is no dispute, and which is not the matter in hand. You must prove to us the adoration by Holy Scripture; all else is sheer trifling." *Faber*: "If then my words be frivolous and idle talk, I shall willingly keep silence." Dr. Martin Blansch spoke next, whom Zwingli answered, and then Sebas-

tian Hofmeister and Dr. Sebastian Meyer, the two honorary guests, who exhorted the Zurichers to hold to the Word of God, and to advance on the path which they had entered upon. The Burgomaster, after calling on any who had the wish to speak, or to make objections, and none appearing, dismissed the assembly to dinner, with the remark, "The sword that wounded the parson of Fislisbach will not leave its scabbard to-day." The Council remained sitting, and passed the following resolution, which in the afternoon was published to the assembly:—"Magister Huldreich Zwingli, canon and predicant in the Great Minster at Zurich, having been oftentimes secretly calumniated, and publicly accused on account of his doctrine, and having published the articles of his faith, and called on any to disprove them on the ground of Holy Scripture, and none having appeared with that intent, although the said Magister Zwingli has more than once challenged those to do so who have applied to him the opprobrious name of heretic—We, the Burgomaster, the Little and Great Councils of the town of Zurich, to put an end to disturbance and dissension, after due deliberation, have resolved, and it is our opinion, that the said Magister Huldreich Zwingli continue, as hitherto, to preach Holy Scripture, according as the Spirit of God may enable him. We also command all other Leut-priests, curates, and predicants in town and country to teach and preach from the pulpit nothing else but that which can be proved by the Gospel and the recognized Holy Scriptures. Nor shall they for the future apply to each other abusive names, as heretic and the like."

Upon this resolution being published, Zwingli said, greatly rejoiced: "God be praised, who will have His Holy Word rule in heaven and on earth. He, the Almighty Everlasting God, will, as I doubt not, my lords, grant you strength on other occasions also to forward the cause of His Word and Holy Gospel, and to protect the preaching of the same within your bounds. Doubt not, my lords, the Omnipotent Eternal God will in another way recompense and reward you. Amen." The General-Vicar sought to save his honour by maintaining that the propositions of Zwingli were erroneous and heretical, but he did not attempt to prove his assertion. Zwingli, animated with the feeling of vic-

~~more~~ longer spared him, especially as the Vicar declared he



no longer spoke in an official capacity, but only as Johannes. Faber forgot himself so far as to say: "Not all that is wrong or against Christ stands in the gospel. For where do we find, for example, that a man shall not take his own or his sister's daughter to wife? One can be friendly, peaceable, virtuous without the gospel." Zwingli replied: "Nor does it stand anywhere in the gospel that a cardinal should have thirty livings. But in the third book of Moses, chap. xviii., you find farther removed degrees of blood-relationship forbidden than that which you have named, from whence it is clear that nearer cannot be allowed, although they are not specified. For the rest, I pity you that you make to the inhabitants of Zurich such foolish and sterile speeches, which are nothing but an insult to the understandings of the people. You had better held your peace than to have thus defended yourself." At these words all present stood up, indignant at the disgraceful conduct of the Vicar, and his idle unmeaning harangues, and went home. Thus ended the first Conference.

As a remarkable circumstance, highly characteristic of the economics of the times, it deserves to be mentioned, in connection with the Conference, that the parson of Schlieren, upon Zwingli's exhortation that every parson should read and study the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament, objected in these words: "How can one who has a small living buy a Testament? I have such a poor living, and therefore I must here put in my word." Zwingli said: "There is, by God's grace, no priest so poor that he cannot, if he go seriously about it, buy a Testament. He will find some pious citizen* who will buy him one, or advance him the money."

3. RESULTS OF THE DISPUTATION.—PRINCIPLES OBSERVED BY ZWINGLI IN THE WORK OF REFORMATION.

Although Zwingli, in the religious disputation, had obtained so decisive a victory, Faber nevertheless sought, by all the arts

* Burgomaster Diethelm Roist, son and successor of Marx, took, along with others, this hint of Zwingli's, and presented the parson of Kirchberg, Rudolph Muetz, with a New Testament, expressing his wish, "that you may read the Divine Word with all diligence and zeal, and put more faith in the Creator of all things than in the poor weak creature man." Henry Werthmueller, a friend of Zwingli's, and a member of the Great Council, distributed several New Testaments among the poor.

of deception, to preserve the appearance of it to himself. Erhard Hegenwald, formerly schoolmaster in the cloister of Pfäfers, published as faithful and impartial an account as could possibly have been given of the transactions and debates of the Conference. To weaken the effect of this narrative, which, in the moderate tone that pervades it, unquestionably bears the stamp of truth, and if possible, to maintain for himself the honour of victory, Faber published a passionate report of the whole proceedings, teeming with odious attacks upon Zwingli and the Zurichers, and full of palpable misrepresentations and untruths. This libel was answered in a pithy manner by some of the youth of Zurich, in a book entitled "Hawk-pluckings,"* so that out of this after-fight Faber reaped as little honour as he did out of the disputation itself.

The Reformer, for his part, never for a moment lost sight of the grand object in view—the restitution of the gospel to its proper place in the worship of the sanctuary, and its reinstatement in the affections of the heart, and this for the glory of God, and the salvation of perishing souls. The opportunity not having been presented him of fully establishing his propositions or theses at the Conference, he resolved to do this in a separate publication. "Night and day," he afterwards wrote to a friend, "I laboured at this work." In this way he succeeded, notwithstanding his daily sermons, and attention to a mass of other business, in bringing it to a close within five months, although it contains three hundred pages closely printed. He published it immediately. Great was the impression which it made on its appearance, both at home and abroad.† Every Christian who thirsted after salvation, was enabled with it in his hand to prove all the ecclesiastical doctrines, ordinances, rites, and ceremonies in the light of God's Word. In Zurich, no alterations had as yet taken place in public worship, or in ecclesiastical institutions. Zwingli had directed his whole attention to the preaching of the Word of God, and implanting it in the hearts of his hearers. He left it with a wise moderation and pious self-denial to God, to choose the period of time when the renovation of His Church should be effected on the basis of

* A sharp polemic, full of biting wit. Its title is borrowed from a round game, called as above.

† At Nurnberg 300 copies were disposed of at once.

His Word. The time for a practical reformation appeared now to have arrived. After the decisive victory which evangelical truth gained at the Conference, and after Zwingli in the exposition and establishment of his propositions had set his evangelical doctrine in so convincing a light before the eyes of the people, a desire sprang up so strong and vigorous for the reorganisation of ecclesiastical institutions and worship, according to the claims of God's Word, that it was impossible to resist it. Zwingli, with the most anxious and tender pastoral fidelity, took care, in co-operation with the magistracy, that reform should be carried out in the most orderly manner. He strove to effect it in a way the least obnoxious and grating to the feelings. It was his desire that the weak in the faith should not be offended; that the broken reed might not be broken, nor the smoking flax of faith quenched. "God knows my heart," said he on one of these occasions, "and that I am more inclined to build up than to pull down." With this amiable moderation, he combined a manly resolution, which led him to the unsparing carrying out of particular reforms, when they were necessitated by the demands of God's Word. "An ecclesiastical institution, or a ceremony of public worship, may be differently viewed," said he, "but certain it is that that which is contrary to the Word of God, cannot be allowed to stand, 'for every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up,' Matt. xv. 13. If now, in an ordinance condemned by God, we make a slight alteration, what follows—we must combat it still by the weapons of God's Word, whereby daily heart-burnings must arise. *My plan is, to set up in the Church of God a work that will preserve itself in the midst of fire, and that has nothing to fear from fire itself.* Such a work can only be erected on the foundation *Christ*, who also is the foundation of the building of the apostles and prophets." Such were the principles that guided Zwingli in the salutary work of Church reform which he now undertook.

The stream of reformation, in the first instance, directed itself against the institution of which he was himself a member.

4. THE CATHEDRAL FOUNDATION AT THE GREAT MINSTER.

The members of this foundation, who were to be limited to eighteen in number, were, in terms of Charles the Great's letter of foundation, to serve God with prayer and praise, to furnish the Christians, in hill and valley, with the means of public worship, and finally, to preside over the Cathedral School, which, after the name of the founder, was called the Charles' School. Like most other ecclesiastical institutions, that of the Great Minster soon degenerated from the principles of its institution, and quickly lost its original object entirely of sight. A Leut-priest, with a very small salary attached to the office, but who was comforted with the prospect of a speedy advancement to the canonship, was appointed to discharge the functions of public worship. The members of the foundation, for the most part, gave themselves up to lives of idleness, riot, and often of licentiousness.* There were, indeed, at the time when Zwingli was chosen to fill the office of Leut-priest, canons in the foundation animated with a different spirit, else his election had hardly taken place. The decided and vigorous operations of the Reformer, although they often encountered a fierce opposition, were in general not without fruit amongst them, and while the one party openly and with joy embraced the gospel, and subjected themselves to the obedience of faith, the other party felt themselves necessitated to lead a life of at least decent morality. Meanwhile, however, as the light of the gospel waxed stronger, the discontentment among the citizens rose higher, with the vast numbers of useless ecclesiastics, who drew large rents, and pocketed heavy taxes, that were paid with great unwillingness. The foundation at this time numbered twenty-four canons and thirty-six chaplains,† besides the

* Felix Hämmerlin, precentor of this foundation, in the first half of the fifteenth century, says of these same ecclesiastics: "A blacksmith can, from a number of old horse shoes, pick one out and make it useable, but I know no smith who, out of all these canons, could make one good canon."

† Chaplain Widmer, a man of notoriously bad character, and a bitter enemy of the Gospel and of Zwingli, wrote to the voracious pluralist, Henry Goeldli, (See above, 2d Sect.), to Rome: "I hear that you intend to bring a falcon with you. My advice to you is, to let it rather alone, for there is here such a spirit prevalent, that we priests can scarce walk safely about the town, not to speak of going a

Leut-priest and his assistants. Zwingli and his friends admitted that the complaints made against the institution were well-grounded, and moved the appointment of a committee, selected out of the canons themselves and the Council, to deliberate on a reform, now become absolutely necessary. This committee was appointed in September 1523, and its suggestions were passed into law by a resolution of the Council, in concurrence with the canons. In the first place, certain burdens were removed from the laity. No one was any longer to be forced to pay for the performance of baptism, or the last unction, for burials, or for grave-stones, unless the same were expressly desired; no one was to be obliged to deliver burial-candles, while it stood open to all to light them at their own cost; no one was to be required to pay for the tolling of the great bell in the Minster, while, if they chose, they could pay for the tolling of the bell either there or at the other churches. The Leut-priest and his assistants were to be duly indemnified for the loss resulting to them from the adoption of these measures, out of the tithes and rents. It was resolved to reduce the number of the ecclesiastics, (those that died off were not to be replaced,) but a sufficient number was to be maintained for the due performance of public worship, and the cure of souls in the Minster itself, and its filial dependencies. Canons and chaplains, who were henceforth to bear the common name of chaplains, might, on condition that they conducted themselves decently, and gave no offence either in their doctrine or lives, remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of their benefices; but the more capable of them were to be employed, with competent salaries, as the ministers of parishes, and in this office to conduct themselves with all fidelity as evangelical pastors. The amount of the benefices set free by the decease of canons was to be applied to the better payment of the teachers in the foundation school, or the Gymnasium, in order that better qualified men might be obtained for these situations. Zwingli at the same time called into life an altogether new institution of a higher order, specially adapted for advancing the work of education among the

falcon-hunting, and springing over the boor's hedges. We are decried as useless, good-for-nothing parsons, that for three hundred years, till the time of Luther and Zwingli, have deceived the people. The common man hopes that the number of priests in Zurich will be reduced to six or ten at most."

candidates for the priesthood, for affording intellectual and spiritual exercise to the canons, and promoting edification also among the people. In place of the choir-service in the morning, heedlessly mumbled over by canons and chaplains, a new service came into existence on the 19th July 1525, "the prophesying," or exposition of Scripture. At eight o'clock, all the town-parsons, predicants, canons, and chaplains, and the more advanced scholars, assembled in the choir of the Minster church. Zwingli having delivered, in the Latin language, the prayer, a translation of which we give below, the exposition was begun with the first chapter of the First Book of Moses, in the following manner: A scholar read a section of the Latin Translation of the Bible (the Vulgate), and the teacher commented upon it. The same section was then read in the Hebrew Text, then in the Greek Translation (the Septuagint), and critically, as well as doctrinally and practically, explained in Latin. At first Zwingli himself expounded out of the original text and the Greek Translation, but afterwards a special master was appointed for the Hebrew, first, Ceporin,* and after his early death, Pellican.† This exercise‡ lasted about an hour. In the meantime, the congregation had assembled to hear the sermon at nine. An ecclesiastic mounted the pulpit, and delivered the beautiful prayer composed by Zwingli: "O merciful God, heavenly Father! since Thy Word is a light to our feet and a lamp to our path, we pray Thee that Thou wouldest, through Christ, who is the true light of the whole world, open and illuminate our minds, clearly and purely to understand Thy truth, that so we may in no respect offend Thy High Majesty, through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen." The section of Scripture which had been already treated learnedly was then expounded in a manner level to the capacities of the congregation, the doctrines and exhortations it contained brought home to the heart, and the whole proceeding closed with prayer. At the remaining hours the scholars of this higher institution received instructions in the languages and the

* Ceporin or Weisendanger, of Dynhart, born in a village of the Canton Zurich, was a learned and well-meaning young man, but he filled the office only a short time, from April till 20th December, when he died.

† Pellicanus or Kuersner, born at Rufart, in Elsas, did the duties from 1526 till 1556, and rendered important service to the cause of the Reformation.

‡ Zwingli called this scientific and didactic exercise "prophesying," in reference to the proceedings alluded to in 1 Cor. xiv.

sciences from the learned men who were appointed in the room of the deceased canons. In respect of the idea present to the mind of Zwingli in regard to this higher institution, Myconius says: "Zwingli formed the plan of founding an institution specially intended for the study of profane learning and scientific theology, and I doubt not that, had he survived the full execution of his plan, it would not have found its equal anywhere." Yet the seed sown by Zwingli in hope sprung up even after he himself had left the scene; the list of distinguished individuals in science, in the Church and State, which Zurich can claim as her alumni up to the present day, is the rich fruit of the seed sown by our Reformer.

The secular authority and judicature which the Foundation had hitherto possessed was now transferred to the Council and burghers. The revenues, after deduction of the salaries to schoolmasters and parsons, were applied in behalf of the Hospital for the Poor. The change in this Foundation having been thus accomplished in a manner so salutary, the Foundation of the Frauen Minster, in which Zwingli's friend, so often already mentioned, Dr. Engelhard, laboured as Leut-priest, became in its turn animated with the breath of reform. This Abbey was founded, as Bullinger states, in 833, by King Ludwig, the German, whose daughter, the sainted Hildegard, was the first Abbess. At the time of the Reformation, Catherine vom Zimmern, (or Zimbern), a Suabian, held this office. On the 4th December 1524, with the consent of the other females of the Foundation, she handed over to the Council all its lands, revenues, and privileges, on the condition that "an honourable Council should apply the same to the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the comfort and help of the poor." The females belonging to the Foundation were secured in a provision for life, and the surplus of the income was applied to the benefit of the churches, the schools, and the poor. Myconius, who had been forced by the enemies of the Gospel to flee from Lucerne, and had laboured for some time at Einsiedeln, with Geroldseck, received an appointment as master at the school of the Frauen Minster. Geroldseck, when he saw this friend of the truth also leaving Einsiedeln for Zurich, 1525, was oppressed with a sad foreboding. "It seemed to him ominous," said he to his departing friend, "that all who acknowledge Christ gather together

in Zurich. God grant," said he, "*it may not be to perish there together.*" Myconius, besides attending his duties at the school, used to deliver in the evening instructive and edifying addresses, instead of the Vespers formerly read, on parts of the New Testament, in the German language, and at these meetings he had a large attendance as well of the clergy as of the laity, men and women; "for," says Leonhard Weiss, "he could instruct in a manner very intelligible and entertaining."

Thus these two ancient ecclesiastical Foundations, renovated by the breath of that evangelical spirit, fanned by God in the breast of Zwingli, became institutions that have eminently promoted the salvation of souls, the glory of Zurich, and the Church of Christ, and they will continue to do so as long as genuine piety and sterling truth preserve their sacred alliance.

But even those ecclesiastical institutions, which for a time obstinately resisted the influence of the gospel, could just as little eventually withstand it as the snow and ice of the mountains can resist the genial influences of spring,—we mean the cloisters.

5. THE CLOISTERS.

We have already mentioned that Zwingli, and afterwards Leo Jud, at the order of the Council, preached in the nunneries, and discharged the duties of pastors there, and, on the other hand, that the preaching-monks were forbidden to enter these institutions. The preaching of the gospel bore here, too, its fruit. Several nuns, especially from the Cloister Oetenbach, petitioned the Council for permission to leave the cloister, and take with them the little property they brought to it. The Council, on the 17th June 1523, resolved to grant their petition. Many availed themselves of the permission thus given; others wished to live and die in the cloister. These latter were also allowed to follow their own desires, on the condition that the women of the various cloisters should lay aside the dress of their order, and dwell together in one house, peaceably, and diligently attend the preaching of the gospel; those who, at a later period, might wish to change their mode of life, had the liberty to do so at any time, the others maintaining their vows till death, with a suitable provision.

A sterner conflict had to be waged with the monks. Zwingli had proved, by the Word of God, that all monkish establishments were condemned by it. "Christ says, Matt. xxiii. 9: 'And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.' In these words it was not the intention of Christ to forbid us from calling our natural fathers by the name of father, but simply that we should render submission to none as a teacher or guide, except to the one heavenly Father, and the only Master and Guide, Christ. It is hence clear that all who have arrogated to themselves the title of Fathers, and that likewise all who acknowledge them as such, and adhere to them as such, do this against the express command of God, and diminish the glory of Christ. They may say, 'Yes, we know well that God is our Father; we have only adopted a pious and holy man as our schoolmaster and guide.' They yet contravene the spirit of the command already noticed: Ye shall have God *alone* for your Master; you are to listen to His word, and not to the idle words of man, however wise man may appear. This word is also against it: 'Neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master even Christ,' after whom, indeed, ye ought to carry the cross, but not after Dominicus, Benedictus, Franciscus, Antonius, or Bernhardus. If these were alive at the present day, they would, that is, if they were true Christians, undoubtedly tell you, 'O foolish men, what are ye about, know ye not that ye ought to have no other master, father, or guide, but God alone? Why hold to us, who have all our lives long held ourselves on God alone?' In short, all distinction of one from another in the body of the faithful, be it by name, order, or any title whatsoever, is wrong, is a sin, a lie, and a deception. Many will think this a hard word, for which I may be severely censured. You talk nonsense, it will be said to me. How many saints in the orders of monkery have come to God and been saved! Answer: Shew me the bonds of their salvation. The Antichrist of Rome, indeed, has said, by his fat-bellied parsons, they are saved; I, for my part, trust the simple word of Christ, who is the truth itself, more than that of all the Popes, who have followed another rule than the doctrine of Christ. But have not the Fathers, sayest thou, the Popes and Councils, confirmed the orders? Answer: Similar dishes have similar handles. The Popes and Councils have but fairly enough

confirmed their flatterers and supporters. Why do they not observe the word of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 9), from which they might well see they ought to say: Follow the doctrine of Christ alone, pay no regard to the Fathers, follow none but Christ? Is it not evident from this very confirmation how the matter stands? That which comes from God requires no confirmation at all, for to the faithful it is enough that God teaches it? The anti-christians, however, have been obliged to *confirm* this same monkery, because it has no foundation in the Word of God; on the contrary, it is contradicted by it. Verily, what a fine foundation the orders have! I will not speak of the knavery of praising poverty, while none are more avaricious and greedy of wealth than the monks. They praise, too, obedience, and yet they refuse all obedience to God and man. God they do not obey; for when He commands us to call no man 'Father' except himself, they set themselves up as mock-fathers, and when He commands us to honour father and mother, and to stand by them, they say, 'No; thou shalt no more regard father and mother,' as if their order were that for which I must leave father and mother. O impious falsifiers of the Divine Word! Understand that Christ then only commands us to leave father and mother when they would make us apostates from the faith. Where, pray, has He commanded this for any order's sake? Such authority it will be difficult to find, as He nowhere allows an order at all. To the magistracy they are as little obedient, and yet Peter and Paul command us to obey it. Yes, they would rather stir up murderous wars, as has often been done, than obey the words of the apostles. Reflect whether they love this world's goods or not. With their neighbour they hold nothing in common, to which yet the obedience of Christ binds us; they suffer not with the suffering, they work not with the working, they sorrow not with the sorrowing, and alms they distribute from the leavings of their wealth. What shall I say? The earth bears not a greater burden upon it than these hooded fattening-hogs. (My words apply not to those pious brethren of the orders who, having pure and upright hearts, are conscientiously devoted to the doctrine of Christ, and would follow it if only they could.) In respect to chastity, which they vow to observe, we know very well how little they observe it. From all this it follows, that all that all the monks on earth

with their cowls have invented is a base system of hypocrisy, and an open assault on God and His Word. Here it may be objected; a priest must be distinguished from the common man, be it by a bald pate, or by clothing. Answer: He who will distinguish himself from his brother by badges or dress is a hypocrite; for we have another way to make ourselves venerated. Christ teaches us that we ought to excel each other in *humility*. He says also, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' (John xiii. 35.) If we love all men as ourselves, and zealously preach the word of salvation, take to heart the ills of all, and help them to the utmost of our power, then men will recognise us, yea, the children themselves will know us without any external sign; the devil, too, will not suffer us, but will cry against us as the possessed daughter at Philippi cried against Paul. But when once we have lost our true dignity, the real power of God, I mean an intrepid, joyous, upright soul, then it is we assume a feigned character, with baldness, with cowls and cloaks; that when we are without use to God or the world, men may admire at least our clothes, as the children stare at the gold-bespangled mules of the Pope. What the people of the orders ought principally to do is, to examine fundamentally Divine truth, and to see that this glorious light arise in the hearts of men; they ought, at the same time, so to conduct themselves as to give no offence, and they ought to lay aside all hypocrisy, and wear no more cowls. Those who can work ought to support themselves by the labour of their hands; if any, in consequence of poverty or destitution of means, are obliged to remain in the cloisters, they ought to follow there no other rule but the rule of Christ, and bear no other name but the name of Christ; nay, they should rather die than do otherwise.

To snore behind the walls of a cloister is not to worship God. But to visit widows and orphans, that is to say, the destitute in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world, that is truly to worship God, (James i. 27.) The world in this place does not mean hill and valley, field and forest, water, lakes, towns and villages, but the *lusts of the world*, as avarice, pride, uncleanness, intemperance. These vices, however, are more commonly to be met with within the walls of a cloister than in the world abroad. I speak not of envy and hatred, which have their

habitation among this crew, and yet these are all greater sins than those they would fain escape by fleeing to a cloister. Consider, ye monks, your revels, and see how temperate you are; rich food along with idleness avails not the body, but ministers only incentives to carnal lusts. Therefore, let the monks lay aside all their badges, their cowls, and their regulations, and let them put themselves on a level with the rest of Christendom, and unite themselves to it, if they would truly obey the Word of God."

In accordance with these soundly evangelical principles and doctrines laid down by Zwingli upon this subject, a resolution was passed by the Council, in December 1524, to reform the monasteries. The resolution was to the effect, that the monks were to lay aside their monkish habiliments, and live together in the monastery of the barefooted friars. At unawares, and without previous announcement, on one Saturday afternoon a body of delegates from the chief guilds, accompanied by members of the Council and citizens, and followed by the town militia, proceeded to the houses of the ministers of the Gospel, to take them with them; from thence they repaired to the Augustine monastery, assembled in this building all the friars, and announced the above resolution of the Council, with the intimation they were forthwith to follow them. The presence of the armed servants of the town gave the necessary emphasis to the demand. The monks plainly perceived that if they offered resistance, they would be forced to yield obedience. In this quiet manner, the death-blow was given to the monkish establishments of Zurich.

The younger friars, who showed talent and inclination, were made to study; the others had to learn a trade; the strangers were furnished with the necessary travelling money to go to their homes, or to re-enter a cloister in their own country; the frail and aged had a competent settlement made upon them, with the condition attached, that they were regularly to attend the evangelical service, and give offence to none either by their doctrines or lives. The wealth of the monasteries was for the most part applied to the relief of the poor and the sick,* since, forsooth, the

* A noble fruit of the Reformation is to be seen in the institutions for sick and poor, which the dissolution of the cloisters called into life. Every kind of door and street-beggary was forbidden by an order issued in 1525, while at the

cloisters called themselves the asylums of the poor; and only a small part was reserved for the churches and schools. By this beneficent transformation of the cloisters into institutions for the exercise of Christian charity, and by the redemption of the monks from monastic idleness to useful activity as members of the community, one great grievance which the Church inflicted on Christianity was abolished.

But to restore to full apostolical dignity and efficiency the ecclesiastical calling, it was necessary to strike off from it the fetters of an ungodly celibacy.

same time a competent support was given to the home and stranger poor. Thus, for example, the poor scholars were not allowed any longer to beg their living by singing beneath the windows, as was customary before the Reformation. Instead of this, a certain number of them (sixteen from the Canton Zurich, four strangers) received daily soup and bread, and two schillings weekly. Stranger beggars and pilgrims were allowed only to pass through the town, and nowhere to beg; if they came in the forenoon, they received at mid-day bread and soup, and were obliged to depart in the afternoon; if they arrived in the afternoon they received bread and soup for supper, and were obliged to leave on the following morning, and not return within six months without special reason assigned. The sick and aged were supported in the cloister of the barefoot monks; the stranger-sick in the hospital of St. Moritz, upon the Spanweit. The domestic poor received daily, in the dissolved monastery of the Augustines, strong broth and one-quarter pound of rye-bread. From the receipt of this aid, there were excluded "all who wore gold and silver, silk," and such like ornaments and jewels; farther, all who housed bad characters, or lent their hand to embezzlement; who without just cause neglected sermon and the holy sacrament; who swore, cursed or lived in dispeace; who frequented the public-house, played cards, &c. Those who foolishly squandered away their means received no alms, till they were reduced to the utmost extremity. A respectable ecclesiastic with a pious layman, had to seek them out in their own quarters, examine, take notes who was destitute and worthy of receiving alms. What they found, they had to report to the Alms-Office, and shew how the poor and sick were treated, the children of poor parents educated and trained from beggary to earn their livelihood by work. To carry out the above regulations, the Augustine monastery was turned into a kitchen for the poor, the cloister of the barefoot friars into an hospital for the sick, the old hospital to quarters for the vagrant poor. The convent in Sellnau was made a Lazaret; the nunnery of Etenbach, a convent for these institutions; and the Dominican church was transformed into a third town-church. The country cloisters were applied principally to the benefit of the poor. In this manner, the Government could say with perfect justice: "We shall so act with cloister property that we can neither be reproached before God nor the world. We might not have the sin upon our consciences of applying the wealth of one single cloister to fill the coffers of the State."

6. CELIBACY.

We have seen above that Zwingli, and those office-bearers in Church and State who shared his sentiments, next to the full liberty of preaching the Gospel, ardently desired the abrogation of the law of celibacy. Conscientious priests, who felt that the gift of continency was denied them, had been in the practice of secretly entering into matrimonial relations, which were not consummated by any public ceremony, which were, however, faithfully observed, and which enjoyed the general approbation of the people, as also the countenance of the magistrates. The latter, on the expressed desire of the parties to that effect, declared the children of such unions capable of inheriting. The bishops, on their part, permitted to the ecclesiastics any kind of concubinage, on the payment of four Rhenish florins, only no publicly consummated marriage. On this, Zwingli said: "I know not a greater scandal in the world than this, that priests are not allowed to marry, but are allowed against a payment made to keep whores. The teacher or the prophet, who will rebuke the vices of men, must himself be obnoxious neither to punishment nor censure, (Titus i. 6.) that he may not have it said to him, 'Physician heal thyself.' 'Why dost not thou first punish thyself, and draw out the beam from thine own eye that thou mayest see clearly to pull out that which is in mine?' Therefore Paul, not without good grounds, but to prevent such vices, has commanded that the bishop or overseer be the husband of one wife, knowing well that continence is not the gift of every man; and yet the eyes of all men turn to the overseer, bishop, or minister, to see how he demeans himself. Paul knew this; and therefore, to prevent scandal being found upon him, he commanded him to take a wife. Christ says, Matt. xix. 12, 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.' But only those are able to whom God has granted special grace. Paul teaches also, 1 Tim. iv. 1-3, 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; *forbidding to marry,*' &c. See what an inventor the doctrine of hypocritical purity has,—the

devil himself! The devil now being the author of the forbidding to marry, we know, on the other hand, that God has appointed marriage, and hath blessed it. Those, then, act a most wicked part who take from pious, inexperienced, young priests the vow of celibacy. For they know well that such a vow cannot be held, *without the special grace of God*, yet they receive it and have it confirmed by oath. If they knew not such things from the Scripture, they might learn them from their own experience; for they must recollect what trials they had to contend with in their younger years, and how often their conscience was lacerated; and they may well conclude that it is no better with others than it was with themselves. They act with the poor men as perfidious carriers, who give not the warning of danger to those that follow them, but say, in a spirit of mischief, 'Let him be overturned as well as I.' Thus they say, 'Since I have been murdered myself, I will let the souls of others be murdered also.' The real reason, however, why this vice is not done away with, but that both spiritual and temporal authorities look on the evils it entails with indifference, comes from hence, that the great bishops look more to the money-bags than millers to their meal-bags."

After the episcopal authority had practically passed into the hands of the Council in Zurich, several ecclesiastics used the liberty granted them in the Word of God, and married. The first who openly ventured to take this step was William Ræubli,* parson of Wytikon, a young man who very willingly made a parade of his boldness in being the first to enter the ranks of matrimony. On the 28th April 1523, he was married, in his own parish church, to a young woman from the village Hirslanden, and very soon his example was followed by others. Zwingli's friend, Leo Jud, married, on the 19th December of the same year, a nun from the cloister at Einsiedeln, Catherine Gmuender of St. Gall. The marriage,† which had for some time been already secretly consummated between Zwingli and Anna Reinhard, widow of the

* He afterwards joined the Anabaptists, and became one of the heads of this sect in Zurich.

† There is no doubt whatever that a private marriage existed so early as the first half of the year 1522 between Zwingli and Anna Reinhard, which was no secret, either to his friends or enemies, especially as he lived in the same house with Anna. His intimate friend Myconius, in a letter of the 22d July 1522, greets

deceased John Meyer von Knonau, was publicly celebrated in the Minster Church on the 2d April 1524, to the great joy of all his friends, both at home and abroad. Bucer wrote to him from Strasburg, "When I learned from your letter to Capito that you had publicly celebrated your marriage, I was out of myself with joy." Zwingli's faithful helpmate, when she gave him her hand, had already passed through a school of severe suffering, which enabled her fully to comprehend the mind of her dear husband, well balanced as it was between heroic faith and patient fortitude, and to elevate herself to the joys which also gilded the spiritual course of the great Reformer, and she could afterwards bear with submission the heaviest trial which can tear the heart of wife or mother, to which she was at a later period subjected.*

Zwingli with his *wife*; and, at the end of the same year, he writes again, "fare thee well, with thy *spouse* in Christ." The highly estimable Merle d'Aubigné, in his excellent "History of the Reformation," terms the delay of the ecclesiastical proclamation and confirmation of these secret espousals, "a blameable weakness on the part of the otherwise so resolute man." We, for our part, are forced to confess that we cannot at all agree in this censure. We conceive the conduct of the Reformer must be judged by the standard of the then existing relations, and the principles of morality which he drew from the Word of God. Such a secret marriage on the part of an ecclesiastic was then generally regarded as an essentially *moral* relation. The much-esteemed Dean Bullinger, in Bremgarten, had, for example, such a connection, from which his afterwards famous son sprang. Besides, Zwingli's marriage was on no occasion brought before the Church-courts, nor once made the subject of reproach to him by his bitterest enemies, who caught at the most absurd stories to vilify him—a proof that nothing censurable could be drawn from it. Zwingli himself, after Matt. xviii., regarded *offence-giving* as a heinous sin. That he might give his parishioners no offence, he entered into wedlock, to which state he found himself, after serious self-examination, appointed by God, and he entered it in a manner which was in accordance with the moral conceptions of the times, and the principles then generally recognized. Had he made a public celebration of his marriage, before the judgment of his people had been strengthened and refined by the preaching of the Word, he could hardly have failed in giving *offence*, and estranging many from the gospel. When he felt convinced that a public celebration of his marriage not only would give to the great majority of his people no offence, but would be regarded by them as a confirmation of the principles of his evangelical preaching, he delayed not an hour to implement it. In all this I not only find no "censurable weakness," but the same wise and temperate regard to the feelings and religious development attained by his congregation which he manifested in the carrying out of every other reform. His mind was naturally inclined "to build up, and not to pull down," as he in all truth says himself.

* In the unhappy battle of Kappel she lost, besides her dear husband, Gerold Meyer, her son, her son-in-law, and other relatives.

As a maid of surpassing beauty, of tranquil soul, and spotless character, she had won the affections of the young nobleman, John Meyer von Knonau, who had been brought up at the court of his relative, the Bishop of Constance. This young man, according to his father's wish, was to marry a noble damsel out of the Thurgau, but the son followed the choice of his heart, and, unknown to his father, had his union consummated with Anna Reinhard in a country parish church. At this step the old man was so incensed that he forbade his son his house, refused him the means of support, and, in so far as the laws of Zurich permitted, disinherited him. John, compelled by the harshness of his father to seek his maintenance in the ranks of mercenary warfare, died in 1515, leaving behind him his widow with three children, a son and two daughters. The grandfather refused to have anything to do with the family of his deceased son, till the following occurrence brought about a reconciliation. One day the widow's nursery-maid went with Gerald, a lively, sprightly boy, to the fish-market. The grandfather, who sat in the company of some friends at the window of an adjoining inn, saw the boy sitting in a fish-basket, and demeaning himself with such good humour that he attracted all eyes on him. "Whose handsome child is this?" the grandfather inquired, with an expression of satisfaction in his face. He was told it was his grandson. He immediately ordered the child to be brought to him, embraced him, kissed him, and from that moment all his grudge against the mother was forgotten. Unhappily, the newly won grandfather and benefactor died very shortly after this incident. Zwingli, in whose neighbourhood the young Widow Meyer lived, got very fond of the lively and intelligent Gerald, whose education he superintended with a fatherly care. On his return from one of his tours to the baths, he made him a bath-present of his Educational Treatise.

By this transformation of the cloisters into benevolent institutions, and the dissolution of celibacy, a wholesome reform was accomplished amongst the clergy, and great scandals were removed. Zwingli now turned his eye upon the grand central point of that corruption which prevailed in the service of the sanctuary, the *mass*, with the intention of bringing it back to its

original simplicity and significance, as ordained by Christ. The course of affairs brought another question into connection with it, that of "Images." We shall follow the thread of history, and treat of both in the order in which it presents them to us.

7. IMAGES AND THE MASS.—SECOND DISPUTATION, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Zwingli had already, in the exposition and proof of his propositions, expressed and developed the view that the mass *is not a sacrifice*. In a farther treatise upon the subject, he exposed the faults and errors of the mass-canon,* and threw out suggestions for its amelioration. Shortly after this appeared, he was obliged, in a defence of the views therein propounded, still farther to develope and establish them, and in part also to correct them. "I put this small apology in haste upon paper," says he, "to make it plain to every one that I neither approve of theatrical† mass robes nor the chanting in a language unintelligible to the people, be it of holy Scripture or anything else, and also that no one may have ground to complain he has been misled by any silence of mine upon this subject." While Zwingli was thus preparing a reformation of the idolatrous worship of the Church, from its central point outwards, a young priest, Louis Hetzer‡ by name, in a small work, written in the German language, and entitled, "The Judgment of God as to how the Images are to be dealt with," cast a fire-brand among the people which impelled some ardent spirits to acts of violence against the images. There stood before the town-gate, at the Stadelhofen, a richly adorned crucifix, which enjoyed a high veneration. It sorely annoyed an honest burgher, well-versed in the

* On the mass-canon, September 1523.

† In his scheme of reform he had retained the mass-robe, on account of the symbolic signification of some parts of it.

‡ A native of Bischofszell, or, according to others, a Bavarian. He was a learned, but hot-headed man, of an impetuous temper, which led him afterwards into the ranks of the Anabaptists. He was beheaded at Constance for proved adultery, in 1529.

Scriptures, the shoemaker Nicolas Hottinger. One day, as the shoemaker stood surveying it, he asked the miller of Stadelhofen, to whom it belonged, when he intended to take that thing away. The miller replied: "Nobody bids you worship it, Nicolas; but if you feel yourself empowered, you may take it away whenever you please; I give it up to you." Nicolas, on receiving this license, marched out one-September morning, accompanied by a body of the citizens, took down the image, and sold the wood for the benefit of the hospital poor. This act caused a great sensation, and created a violent outcry on the part of the Papists, who shouted, "Down with these men; they are church robbers, and deserving of death." The commotion was increased by the following circumstance:—One day, Laurence Meyer, vicar of St. Peter's, said to another vicar he had a great desire to knock down the idols from the altars, when he thought of the people who sat shivering before the church, without clothes, and suffering hunger, whom the gold might help. On Lady-day, before three o'clock in the morning, there had disappeared from the church, plates, rolls, images of saints, and other symbols of idolatrous worship. The Council brought up the vicar for examination, who admitted his having used the expressions above quoted, and farther, his having said to some citizens whom he overheard speaking in the street of the alleged sacrilege committed: "They need not trouble their heads so much about it; it was probable he who did it would come forward and shew himself." Nothing else, however, being proved against Meyer, he was set at liberty.

By these proceedings, Zwingli was necessitated, however inopportune he might deem the moment to be, to express his sentiments with regard to images and their worship. He blamed the unauthorised and irregular destruction which had been made of a part of the images as wholly unnecessary, on the ground that the abuse, after it had been exposed and sifted, must needs have been quietly removed by the hand of the civil power. "The child is not let down from the cradle," said he, with singular delicacy of feeling, "till a stool has been presented to it on which it may hold fast if it cannot walk alone. Nor ought we, with the idols, to anticipate those who have not yet been fully instructed in the gospel; we ought rather to wait till the knowledge of the one true God has been fully brought home to their hearts. Our

iconoclasts, besides, understand certain passages in the Old Testament all too literally, and, in truth, erroneously, when they teach that by these all pictorial representation, consequently trade-signs, way-marks, dials, and so forth, are forbidden. He, for his part, was far from rejecting paintings and fine statuary, provided they were not made to serve any superstitious ends, as no one liked better to see them than himself; nay, he regarded the arts of painting and statuary in the light of special gifts of God.* The tabernacle, too, and Solomon's temple, were adorned with beautifully carved work, with palms, lilies, and other flowers, but always with such as neither induced nor incited to adoration. He was therefore in favour of the glass-paintings remaining in the church-windows, on the ground that they, just as little as the cock on the church steeple, or the statue of Charles the Great at the Minster, misled the people to idolatry." "On the other hand," said he, "all images must be removed, which serve the purposes of a superstitious veneration, because such veneration is really idolatry. Now we see images put up for *veneration* in the churches, and here and there in the streets. We see them placed, *first of all*, before the eyes of men on the altar. Why are they allowed to stand there where so high things are transacted as the papists say are done in the mass? Will they let a man stand there during the mass? Not they. They then hold these images to be higher than men, and yet they have been cut out of a willow-tree by the hands of men. Thus Isaiah, (chap. xliv.) justly rebukes such men who worship the works which their own hands have fashioned. Then one bows to them, and bares the head before them, which God has forbidden. Consider if this be not open idolatry. Again, we expend great cost in gold, silver, diamonds, and pearls on them; nay, some images are formed of massive gold and silver; and, in others, the vesture is so full of them, that, for that part, it might stand upright if this were wanted. It is of no use to object: we present not this wealth to idols, but to honour the blessed saints who are in heaven; *for* if we would do honour to the saints with the riches of this world, we ought to do it in the way God has commanded

* Zwingli, on another occasion, said, he for his part found the less scandal in the images, as in consequence of his short-sightedness he never saw them in the church.

us, and as the saints themselves have done, viz., by bestowing it on the poor. What we ought to give to the poor destitute images of God, we give to the gold-bedizened images of men, for these idols are but the images of men, while the living man is the image of God. Is it not plain, then, that in thus giving to these idols against the command of God, we give what we ought to give to the poor? Nor has there been any ring, precious stone or jewel, so costly and dear that it repented an ambitious woman to hang it on a wooden idol. And if we had exhorted her to give the same to the poor, we verily should not have brought her to it. And why? It makes no show on the poor man, but it makes a show on the idol. Since, then, these idols have been fashioned and adorned out of a carnal ambition, how can we any longer suffer them? Are we not fearful the curse will come upon us? Ps. xcvi. 7: 'Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols.' We burn costly incense before them as the heathen did. Here we commit a twofold sin. Firstly, In that we think the elect of God are honoured by such things as the heathen honoured their idols with, when we learn from the Acts, chap. xiv., that Paul and Barnabas would not suffer such adoration to be paid to them, but signified they were sent by God to turn men from such folly. The servants of God are not honoured with such fool's work, for they themselves never honoured God himself therewith. We sin, secondly, in laying that before an idol which should be given to the poor. Then, lastly, like the heathen, we call them by the names of those whose images they represent. Thus, we name one piece of carved wood the mother of God, another St. Nicolas, and the third, the Holy Hildegarde, and so on. This were in itself less, but we hold this image in such veneration, that if one were to call it an idol, which it is, he should be liable to punishment. Nay, we have heard of those who have broken into the prisons, and actually slain those who took away these idols. Why did they do this? 'Oh! they have burnt or stolen our blessed Lord God and the saints!' Whom do they call our Lord God? The idol! So, then, they had an idol for a god. If they had had the Father in heaven for their God, who is invisible to human eyes, they had very little concerned themselves about what was done to a mere image. An old man may remember the time when not the

hundredth part of the images were in the churches that are now to be found in them. How, then, have our forefathers honoured God ; or, rather, how have they dishonoured Him in not possessing so many images as we have ? Did it seem good to them to have no images or few of them ? then woe to us who would increase them. For although it may be said, adoration is not paid to the idol but to God and the blessed saints, this avails not, because so far from honouring God and the saints by such a species of adoration, superstition and idolatry are committed the moment we set up an image and adore it. And these vain people put innocent Christians to death, who remove that which turns the soul away from God. Oh ! is it not evident from this that they are idolaters ? Since, then, real danger exists, that faith will be diminished where images are hung or set up in the temples, they being, as experience teaches, easily worshipped and adored, they must be removed from thence, since there is danger of their being adored. We mean, however, images alone that are hurtful to true piety, and which have a tendency to diminish our faith in God himself, such as the images of men placed on the altars and in the churches. The papists suppose they advance a very weighty objection, when they say, images are the books of the simple. Tell me, however, where has God commanded us to learn out of such a book ? How comes it that we have all had 'the cross' so many years before us, and yet have not learned salvation in Christ, or true faith in God ? Take a child and place it before an image of the Saviour, and give it no instruction, and let us see if it will learn from the image that Christ has suffered for us. Is it said, Nay ; but it must be taught also by the Word ? Then the admission is made that it must be instructed not by the image but by the Word. I verily believe that the whole of papal Christendom would rather have their images or idols than the Word of God. For when the Word is presented it is immediately seen as in a glass that the whole papacy is a lie. Therefore, they let the sufferings of Christ be sufficiently well painted on the wall, and represented in statuary, and let poor fools hang silver and gold thereon, and kiss the stone feet, provided only they do not learn what the sufferings of Christ mean. For as soon as we have learned this lesson, that he is our Redeemer, our redemption-price, and our only way to God, we no longer buy the kingdom

of heaven from the papacy. It is next objected: The images incite to devotion, which is proved by the following example—a Christian man goes across a field, and seeing the sufferings of Christ oftentimes painted, he bows himself, bares his head, and puts up a prayer.' Where has God taught that we should do Him such honour through idols, and by the performance of such gestures before them? Such arguments are sheer trifling; God everywhere rejects such adoration. He says: 'When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts,' Isaiah i. 12. Mark well, here He forbids us to bow to idols, or to bare the head to them; for He rejects and prohibits honour being done to idols. Is it rejoined: 'The man in the field kneels down—with his heart he says praise and thanks to Him for His holy sufferings—he utters some prayer, which reminds him of God; but if he found no image on the way, he would neither think of God nor the saints; therefore, the images are good and not evil?' Answer: 'Know ye not, that "not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven?" Matt. vii. 21. Perceive you not that God puts little value on mouth-worship, and, on the contrary, the highest value on doing His will? But this the images teach us not, nor do they incite us to it; for they have never stirred up to anything but a *lazy-minded blind devotion*. The true genuine worship of God is to bear Him ever in our hearts. Such a heart is not conferred by any external gazing at an image, but alone by *the illuminating God*.' But here some will say: 'It ought to be taught that the idols are not to be held for anything, applied to for nothing, ought not to be held as holy, and, in a word, all erroneous doctrine in respect to them put away.' Answer: 'Certainly this ought to be done, but they themselves ought also at the same time to be removed. When you drive away the devil you ought to stop up all passages by which he may again enter. While, therefore, the gospel is preached, and men are instructed in pure doctrine, the idols ought to be removed, that men may not fall back into the same errors; for as storks return to their old nests, so men to their old errors, if the way to them be not barred.'

Upon such principles, Zwingli declared that the iconoclasts

might be punished for their unauthorised and disorderly proceedings, but not for sacrilege. On the other hand, the magistracy having once bound itself to act in conformity with the directory of God's Word, must be held as virtually under an obligation to remove all images of superstitious worship from the churches.

The abolition of the mass being now desired by many members of the community, instructed by Zwingli that it was no sacrifice, and that sinful abuses were connected with it, the Council resolved, in the month of October 1523, to institute a second Religious Disputation upon images and the mass. Invitations were sent to the three Swiss Bishops of Chur, Constance, and Basle, and to the governments of the different cantons, to attend by deputies, and thus to assist in bringing truth to light. The Bishop of Constance replied, he had read the invitation with no small astonishment; he would neither appear himself nor send deputies, as by so doing he would make himself amenable to his superiors, (the Emperor and Pope,) and other Christian powers. As Ordinarius and Curate of souls, he begged and exhorted the Council, in a friendly and paternal manner, not so lightly to diverge from the footsteps of their forefathers, to forbear the disputation, and to wait for the decision of an ecclesiastical Council. This would conduce most to the good of the Council themselves, and of their subjects. The Bishop of Basle excused himself for non-appearance, on the ground of advanced age. Of the Confederate Cantons, Lucerne answered with bitterness: "You tell us that strife and division are among you about church matters. We are sorry for it; we thought you had extirpated long ago all these causes of strife, to do which you were fully competent. Had you done this, we had in that case very willingly, as pious Christians, lent you our assistance." They declined attending. The answer from Obwalden was rude: "We cannot believe that our Lord God has granted to Zwingli more grace than to the blessed saints and teachers, who have suffered martyrdom and death for the faith. Nor do we hear that he leads a very spiritual life; on the contrary, we understand that he is more bent on fomenting discord than promoting peace and good will. Nay, had we him here among us, and did we discover what is said of him to be true, we would in verity give him that which would cause him to cease from such courses." Deputies appeared

only in name of the governments of St. Gall and Schaffhausen, the latter having, as a wise precaution, selected, besides Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, two decided opponents of the Reformation.

The Conference began on Monday, the 26th October 1523, in the Town-Hall, in presence of more than nine hundred persons. Dr. Vadian and Dr. Christoffel Schappeler of St. Gall, and Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, were elected by the Burgomaster and Council, to be Presidents of the Conference. Zwingli and Leo Jud were to defend the propositions or theses proposed. Zwingli, after the reading of the mandate, exhorted them all in their hearts to call upon God, (as in consequence of the great pressure a general kneeling was impossible,) that He would bring all to the obedience of the faith, who oppose His Word, that He would enlighten and teach all who do not understand it, that He would instruct and correct all who misunderstand and misapply it. He then developed his view of the Church, in order to shew that the present assembly was justified in deciding on matters of doctrine and faith; and he proved from the Word of God that the Church is the community of all who believe on Christ, and obey his Word. The present assembly, because it believes on Christ, and recognises the Word of God as supreme Judge, was a true church; while, on the other hand, assemblies of cardinals and bishops in Councils, because they pass resolutions opposed to the Word of God and true faith, were no true churches at all. There appeared to combat this statement the old canon, Conrad Hofmann, who, amongst other things, said: "I have been ten or thirteen years at Heidelberg, and have enjoyed intercourse with the most learned and pious individuals, especially with Dr. Jodocus,* a very learned and pious man, in whose house I lived, and with whom I often eat and drank, but in all this intercourse I heard but one language spoken, viz., that in matters of faith we dare not dispute. Yes! look at that; it is true what I say. (It was only with difficulty that the Burgomaster could repress general laughter at the expense of the aged Canon.) Therefore, dear sirs, I shall not dispute; I shall be obedient to the Bishop, and after him to the Provost; yea, although they were knaves, which God forbid." Hofmann advancing no proof from Scripture in defence of his opinion of the absolute authority of

* Dr. Jodocus Gallus was Professor and Rector of the University of Heidelberg.

ecclesiastical superiors, was enjoined to silence, and the first proposition was taken up, which was to the following effect:—

“The images are forbidden of God in the Holy Scripture. Therefore, among Christians such ought not to be made nor adored, and they ought to be done away with.”

Leo Jud proved this proposition by passages from Holy Scripture in a clear and succinct manner. The principal opponents of the Reformation partly not being present, and partly not being in a position to quote passages of Scripture in disproof of the proposition, and thus compelled to keep silence, some of their antagonists undertook to advance the most plausible objections against the proposition. In this spirit spoke Conrad Schmidt, Johanner-Comthur, from Kuessnacht, an intimate and beloved friend of Zwingli, till death : “One should not take the staff out of the hand of the weak Christian, on which he leans, or one should give him another, else he falls to the ground. Granted it be an unstable reed on which he leans, yet leave it rather in his hand, shewing him at the same time a strong staff; he will then of his own accord let the reed fall, and will grasp the strong staff. Therefore let the images remain on which the weak support themselves, and, first of all, inculcate upon them that there is neither life, holiness, nor grace in them. Let then a strong staff be presented to them, *Jesus Christ*, the alone comforter and helper of the afflicted, and they will immediately find they no longer require the images; they will let them go, and lay hold upon Christ. Him who has the true image of Christ in his heart the external image can no longer hurt even although he cling to it. Paul, too, with the Athenians let image be image, that is, he let the images stand, only he taught there is no grace or Divine power in them.” Zwingli replied : “When my esteemed brother, the Comthur, maintains, that we should, first of all, instruct the world in the Word of God, and zealously preach it, I perfectly agree with him that this ought earnestly to be done. I hope, too, that with my brother, Leo Jud, I have faithfully done this, and spared nothing; (Schmidt here observed he did not make his observations to reprehend Magister Zwingli;) but as to your opinion,” continued Zwingli, “that the images are staffs and supports for the weak, God forbid that it should be so. Had useless parsons and bishops zealously preached the Word of God, as has

been inculcated upon them, instead of busying themselves with useless trumpery and mummary, it were not come to this, that the poor ignorant people unacquainted with the Word must learn Christ only through paintings on the wall, or wooden figures. Since, however, God has forbidden images in His Word, they are not to be suffered; but that Paul allowed the idols to remain by the Athenians was quite right; for they were not yet Christians. Had they been Christians, he would not have suffered them to remain. Why should I, with heathens, overturn their images? As for offence-giving, there are two offences. Some are offended, not because they are sick and weak in the faith, but from impiety, and because they believe not at all. This, however, is not weakness (*infirmitas*), but wickedness (*malignitas*.) Others are really weak in the faith, whom we must spare, until they are so strengthened that they no longer take offence. But that this indulgence has its limit the example of Paul teaches us, who circumcised Timothy, but would not let Titus be circumcised. Why? It was time that the taking of offence should cease and have an end. But if we are not to remove the outward idols till the inward idols of bad desires and passions are completely extirpated, the former would never come to be abolished at all, for we shall never be delivered from sinful desires and passions. If we were only then to commence an undertaking when offence shall have ceased, a good Christian work would never come to birth at all.* The Comthur declared he entirely agreed with Zwingli. The objections that were taken by the papists, partly that challenges by name had not been given, were of so frivolous a nature that, as Bullinger rightly observes, they are not worthy of being recorded. Amongst other things, an individual remarked, "I have hitherto believed the old doctors, I shall now believe the new." "Not us," said Zwingli, with great indignation, "but the Word of God

* I have given this speech and defence at greater length, because they have been in many quarters misunderstood, and have given occasion to mistaken comments. Zwingli and Comthur were agreed in the main point, which was, that the images ought to be abolished. They also agreed that this abolition should take place with the imparting of instruction, and the greatest possible sparing of the weak; while, on the other hand, toleration was not to be carried so far as to favour the sin of image-worship. From this standing-point, Comthur combats the one extreme, the violent removal or destruction of the images; Zwingli the other, their too long remaining in deference to the prejudices of the weak, but to the compromise or damage of truth.

ought ye to believe ; it alone cannot deceive." Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, as president, concluded the proceedings with the words : "The Almighty and Everlasting God be praised, that He rules in us, through His Holy Word, whose servants and instruments the holy Paul and the other apostles were, and by God's grace we also are. Having now found, from the Word of God, as has been most convincingly proved, that images and all objects of worship dare not be suffered among a Christian people, ye ought now, my gracious lords, to have no longer scruples in removing them." In this manner, the Disputation on Images on the first day closed. "Child's play," said Zwingli, "this has been ; now comes a weightier and more important matter."

On Tuesday, the 27th October, the Disputation on the Mass took place. After the burgomaster had opened the sitting, Zwingli arose and said : "In the name of God, Amen. Ye elect brethren in Christ, ye have seen what a glorious victory the pure Word of God obtained yesterday in respect of the images. Now in reference to the Mass let every one, in the first place, know that the labours of myself and my esteemed brethren, Leo and Dr. Engelhard, have not the object in view to depreciate the Holy Supper of the body and blood of Christ, but to shew that it is no sacrifice which one man can offer up for another, just as little as one man can eat or drink for another. The president, Dr. Vadian, then called upon the prelates and abbots, and then in order all the parsons present, to state their objections. The greater number expressed their agreement with the views already propounded, others brought forward some very weak and silly arguments, which were immediately refuted. The Comthur Schmidt delivered a pretty long speech, in which he expressed his full concurrence with Zwingli. In reference to the iconoclasts,* he said : "One ought, however, in speaking of the Mass, so to speak of it as not to offend any one, but to improve the people. It appears to me a hard thing what some say, namely, that the Mass comes from the devil, and that the devil has invented monks and the religious orders." Zwingli felt himself compelled by these remarks to speak, although the Comthur

* Goebel and Manz, who would carry through their extravagant and fanatical views.

had not him at all in view in his remarks, but Zwingli feared they might be applied to himself. "What my dear brother has just said in reference to the monks," said he, "had better, as not belonging to the matter in hand, have been let alone. As, however, I have expressed myself in the manner described more than once from the pulpit, I must here answer for it. That which God has not taught, and which only comes from man, must ever be regarded as *bad* in religion. Now I have taught that all good comes from God, and all evil from the devil. Monkeny is a device of the flesh and of selfishness; it is accordingly directly opposed to God, and comes necessarily from the devil. I certainly cannot approve of persons be it in the country or the town speaking either of the mass or the monks in unbecoming terms, and have at all times censured such language. My desire has ever been, that all priests would bestir themselves to preach solely *Christ*; that would in time extirpate all sects and orders, and every other abuse. Many, however, retain nothing more of my sermons but the sharp and stinging words. It fares the same with that eminent and learned man, Martin Luther. Many will learn nothing more from his books but the hard expressions* which out of pure burning love he throws out. But his true and pious heart, which beats ever for Divine truth, for the Word of God, no one will imitate. I confess that in the pulpit I have sometimes made use of strong language; but out of the pulpit, I have never, from a selfish motive, said a harsh word to any one. You know how much I have yielded hitherto and designedly, in the question of the intercession of the saints, saying, as I was wont to do at all times: "Lay your case in petition before *whom* ye will, as for me I will pour out my complaint to God; my prayer is certain, yours uncertain." Now, indeed, that I have set the words of Scripture against prayer to the saints, I can no longer use such language. Thus I have, after the exhortation of Paul, (2 Tim. iv.,) in season and out of season, with gentle and with sharp words, taught and exhorted. I wish from the bottom of my heart that each would bestir himself *not to pull down but to build up*, that each would unceasingly preach the Word of God,

* This unfortunately is still true; as an illustration, take the demeanour and language of the New-Lutherans.

and so preach it as the Spirit teaches." With the expression of these sentiments the Comthur expressed his full concurrence.

The clergy from a distance who had come to the Conference were also called upon to deliver their opinions. Parson Martin Steinli, of Schaffhausen, sought, through the medium of some misapprehended and misapplied passages of Scripture, especially out of the Old Testament, to prove that the Mass is a sacrifice, and concluded in the words: "If the Mass is no sacrifice, then have all our fathers walked in error and been damned." Zwingli made it plain that he had falsely understood and misapplied the passages of Scripture on which he founded. "We must not," said he, "take the passages of Scripture which appear to be favourable to us out of their natural connection. It is necessary to keep that which goes before and comes after well in view. In regard to the last assertion which Steinli made, it is the language of the impious, and all God's enemies. If our forefathers have erred, what then? Is not their salvation in the hands of God as that of all men who likewise sin and err? Who authorises us to anticipate the judgment of God? The authors of these abuses will, without doubt, be punished by God; but who is damned, and who not, is the prerogative of God alone to decide. Let us not interfere with the judgments of God. It is sufficiently clear to us that they have erred." Some frivolous objections were now made, which Zwingli and his friends answered. More trouble and annoyance was given by some friends of the Reformation itself, who threw themselves with a wild and fanatical zeal upon "externalities." These, by calling fierce passions into play, sought to disturb the clear stream of the Reformation, and to turn it aside from its onward and majestic course. We shall have afterwards to consider more closely these wild and rank offshoots of the Reformation under the Anabaptists.

Of the calm and solemn tone of mind which pervaded the evangelical party the closing words of Comthur Schmidt and Zwingli give evidence. The former turned to the Burgomaster and Council with the words: "Since the ecclesiastical authority will not lend its aid to the grand object of bringing Christian doctrine before the people in an unadulterated form, and since it will not give a helping hand to the truth, it now rests on the civil power to do this. For money's sake, Sirs, ye have often helped

a worldly man to land and men. For God's sake now help our Lord Christ again to His sovereignty, that He alone may be worshipped, honoured, and invoked within the bounds of your territories, as our only Mediator, Redeemer, and Helper, in the time of need. Take up the matter in a bold and Christian spirit. This is the true honour of the saints, that we let Christ be King above them, and above all that is in heaven and in earth. Many complain we would put away the saints altogether and make them nothing. I much more complain that Jesus Christ is denied; that He no more avails for that for which He was given to us by the Father; *that He hath died in vain*; that the saints, against their will, and against the Word of God, are raised above Him; that God's honour is taken from Him and given to the saints. Let Christ be alone Lord and Master over all; if He were allowed to reign in peace and accomplish His work, then should we have on earth brotherly love, Christian unity, God's favour and grace, and in the world to come life everlasting." On Schmidt's finishing this speech, the President, Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, called out, "Blessed be the words that thy mouth hath spoken." Zwingli was deeply affected, and began next to speak, addressing his words to the Council and citizens of Zurich: "I would strongly impress upon you that ye would allow God to rule in the things which His Spirit teaches and enjoins. For it is but just that Christians should closely follow that which God, their only Consolation, and only Saviour, teaches. Let not yourselves be dismayed, gracious Sirs. God stands by our side. He will protect His own cause. I conceive that you will encounter much opposition. Give it no heed for the sake of the pure Word of God. Now, in God's name, we will commit all to the Lord; He will not leave us in our extremity. I have, indeed, heard that last night people have been running about and saying, we intend to make the Supper of the Lord a drinking revel. But that no man means to do." Here he was so overcome that for sobs he was unable to speak. Leo Jud fell in; "I will, so help me God, remain immovably by His Word, and give my life for it. Ye, my lords of Zurich, ought, as becomes Christians, to stand firm by the doctrine of God, and take it under your protection, and procure that it be faithfully preached to all the subjects of your government. If ye do this ye will be the elect of God, and His

help will not fail you." Finally, the grey-headed Burgomaster Roist said, after thanking the presidents for their mode of conducting the business: "Ye, my lords of Zurich, ought to take up the Word of God boldly, in a manly spirit, and without any fear. God the Almighty will prosper you *therein*. I cannot speak of the matters that have *come* under review; if I were to speak of *them* it would be as a blind man of colours; however, what we have to do is plain—uprightly to take the Word of God as our guide. Pray all of ye that it may be well with us." These simple straightforward words of the hoary-headed warrior, whose voice had rung high above the storm of many a battle, animating his countrymen to deeds of valour and renown, made a deep impression on the assembly.

In the course of the proceedings the Council had been often recommended to pardon the shoemaker, Hottinger, and his accomplices in the affair of the abduction of the crucifix, since he and his companions had not acted against the truth, but only without due consideration in the matter. Soon after the Disputation this affair was brought before the Council, who resolved, principally at the instigation of the stranger delegates, to set them all at liberty with an admonition. Nicolas Hottinger, as the ringleader in this illegal and unauthorised business, was banished for the space of two years from the town and canton.

Through the Religious Conference, and by other channels, as Bullinger mentions, it came to be known that the great majority of country clergymen knew nothing of the Word of God at all, although they maintained that they preached it. To put an end to this state of things, Zwingli received the commission to bring together, in a concise and condensed form, the chief points of Christian doctrine in a small work, to be sent to all the parsons for their instruction. In a few days the Reformer had finished this "Christian Introduction," in which he explained what *sin* was, what *the law*, what *the gospel*, in how far the law had been abrogated by the gospel, and how the case stood in respect of *the images* and *the mass*. In this writing he made an exposure of the frightful abuses which arose out of the erroneous view that the mass is a sacrifice. "Firstly, this false opinion has begot and nourished every vice. For robbers, usurers, traitors, murderers, adulterers have thought, if mass was once read for their sins, it was all right with them. And resting on this, they have

sinned shamelessly and enormously. This is well seen in the benefices, foundations, and mass-sales. If the mass had not been their lazy, last resource, they had kept their property in their own hands, which they loved so well. The second iniquity consists in this, that through the mass so much of this earth's goods has been amassed and taken for the pretended sacrifice. And even had the mass been a sacrifice, yet it was horrible to take money, wages, this world's chattels for it. But this was not enough; the wealth thus amassed was used at will, was stolen from the poor in cases where it belonged to them, for under this pretext of saying mass the greatest part of alms has been rapaciously seized. Oppressions of all kinds have been practised through it." The Council accompanied the transmission of this little work to the country clergymen with a mandate, in which they say: "It is our will and pleasure that your doctrine be in unison with the gospel, which is to be preached everywhere and with one accord. If, however, there be any amongst you neglectful or contrarious, and acting in a manner opposed to the law of the divine Scriptures, we shall take such measures against these individuals that they shall be made to know how wrong it is to act against the doctrine of Christ at the same time. We beg of each and all of you, if so be that in any respect we be found to have erred against God and His Word, that this, for the honour of God, for the sake of truth and Christian love, be shewn to us out of the Word of God and His Gospel. Such notification shall have our best thanks." The same request was made to the Bishops of Constance, Chur, and Basle, and the university there, as well as to the governments of the Confederate cantons, to whom also copies of the work of Zwingli were sent. A decree was then passed, to the effect that approved preachers, as Zwingli, the Comthur Schmidt, and the Abbot Jones of Kappel, should deliver sermons in the different churches and districts of the canton where it might appear to them necessary, in order to effect an opening to the work of the Reformation.

An immediate consequence of the Disputation was, that some chaplains and assistants in the town refused any more to read mass. On the other hand, there were priests and canons who gave it very plainly to be understood that they would keep to the mass as long as it was not abolished by law. The provost

and chapter brought this matter before the Council, who appointed the three town clergymen, Zwingli, Leo Jud, and Dr. Engelhard, to draw up an opinion of what ought to be undertaken in reference to the mass. In this document, which was delivered at the commencement of December 1523, they say, among other things: "We propose, on Christmas-day, 1523, to administer this sacrament, (of the Lord's Supper,) simply, according to the institution of Christ; for it is not our wish longer to deprive our people of the right administration of this sacrament. And if permission be not granted to dispense the whole ordinance, yet still we must give the bread and wine, the body and blood of the Lord, to such as desire it, or else appear before them as liars, and false to the Word of God. As, however, the soul of man is daily attacked by sin, there is a necessity that it should be daily strengthened by the Word of God. We therefore propose that every day, at a convenient time of the day, there be preaching for a quarter or half an hour on a part of Holy Scripture, and thereafter, upon desire expressed, that the elements of bread and wine be given to the people, according to the directory of God's Word." Hereon the Council, on the 19th of December, caused the provost to announce at the Great Minster:—" (1.) The priests of the town shall appear on Childermas-day before the Little and Great Councils, in the town-hall, and then and there hear my lord's pleasure upon the matter of the Images and Mass. Whoever has anything to object to the principles laid down and established by Holy Scripture at the late Religious Conference, may state such objections, with due proof advanced from Holy Scripture. (2.) The images in the church shall in the meantime be covered and veiled, (as else was customary only at Fast-time,) and shall not be exposed till farther resolution be taken. (3.) The silver, gilt, and otherwise decorated images shall neither be carried on holy days, nor at other times; but the highest treasure, the Word of God, shall, instead of the worship of idols, be implanted in the hearts of men."

On the appointed Childermas-day, Conrad Hofmann, with four other priests, declared they recognized prayer to the saints, the images, and the mass to be right. Hofmann added: "If I have erred in the above articles of faith, I am willing to be put right by learned men, but not by such as are contaminated by

heretical doctrines." The Council hereon resolved that a farther opportunity should be granted to him and his co-religionists to defend their opinions before a commission of six men of learning, and six members of the Council opposed to the three town clergymen. In the meantime, (according to a resolution of the Council, of date the Sunday before Thomas'-day, 1523,) no change was to be made till Pentecost in respect of the sacrament. By a resolution of the same meeting, ecclesiastics and citizens were exhorted to peace, and forbearance from mutual recrimination. The three Bishops and the University of Basle were earnestly requested to send in their opinions upon "The Christian Introduction," which had been sent to them. The Disputation of the 25th January 1524 fell out for Hofman and his party as unfavourably as the former one. The Council, upon receiving the report of their committee, found and declared: "That Hofmann and his party shall for the future neither speak nor act against the superior mandate; if they do so, they shall be dismissed the town, and deprived of their benefices. In other respects they may hold their own opinions."

The other cantons of the Confederacy sent a special embassy to Zurich, which appeared before the Council on the 21st March, to exhort them earnestly to abstain from the proposed innovations. The Council promised to give an answer in writing. In this answer they made the following explicit declaration: "We shall, dear Confederates, faithfully observe the league with you. But in what concerns the Word of God, the salvation of our souls, and the peace of our consciences, here we cannot yield an inch. We repeat the prayer we made to you, not only as our Confederates, but as members of the same family and brethren in Christ, that you would, (for which we have prayed the Bishops of Constance, Chur, and Basle, as well as the university in the last named place,) send to us by Pentecost a deputation of your pastors or other learned men, to tell us, and prove to us by the Word of God, in what respect we have not acted according to that Word, and have not held ourselves to true evangelical doctrine. And in all that shall be shewn and proved to us and our preachers, we shall alway submit ourselves, in so far as it is according to the will and true doctrine of God." In the meanwhile, Pentecost approached, the period fixed for a decision.

The Council named a second time a larger commission, who were to deliver an opinion as to how the magistracy were to proceed, and how the matter was to be arranged. After a full proof that the mass is no sacrifice, but the Supper of the Lord disfigured and defaced, it was proposed to introduce, according to its original institution, the Supper of the Lord, and at once to abolish the mass. Zwingli was for permitting the mass for a time to remain, along with the Supper, for such as desired the former. It was proposed to dispense the Supper on Sundays and holidays, after sermon, to all who desired it, and, in the place of early mass, to hold a daily sermon; to remove the images in a manner the most expedient where the people had been instructed and enlightened with regard to them. This proposition* gave great satisfaction to the magistracy; that part of it in reference to the images was at once adopted, and ordered to be carried into effect. It was resolved, however, in regard to the mass, to let it continue on its old foot until the hostility in reference to the images had generally, and especially among the uninformed or prejudiced Confederates, evaporated. The processions, the solemnity of Corpus-Christi day, the blessing of the palms, with the palm-ash, the consecration of water and salt, and other superstitious observances, such as the ringing of bells during a tempest, &c. were set aside, and order was taken that the bones of the dead in the bone-houses, as well as those preserved and adored as relics, should be decently buried.

On the 20th June 1524, twelve councillors and the three town parsons, with the town architect, smiths, lock-smiths, joiners and masons proceeded to the different churches, locked the doors from the inside, took down the crosses, removed the images,—re-staining the walls. "The superstitious," says Bullinger, "wept over such profanity;† true believers regarded it as a joyous act of worship done to God." The images were likewise

* This proposal, or properly, this opinion, from the circumstance of its being cast in the form in which the magistracy were to issue it, has been taken for, and published as, an Act of the Council, or as a Reformation Mandate. It remained but an opinion, which, in the meantime, was only carried into effect in respect of the images.

† Superstitious persons hoped that "the images" would, of their own accord, return to their vacant places, and thus astonishingly prove their miraculous power. As the images did not do this, many were cured of their superstition.

removed from the country churches without farther noise and disturbance, and in various places burnt, "to the honour and glory of God," the ornaments being everywhere preserved, and applied to the benefit of the poor, the *images* of God.

In the course of the summer, the Bishop of Constance sent, as answer to "The Christian Introduction," a "Christian Instruction in regard to Images and the Mass," to the Council of Zurich, with an exhortation to them to act in the spirit of it, and to abstain from all innovations. Zwingli, in name of the Council, undertook to answer this very superficial production, which he did shortly and conclusively in "A Christian Answer of the Burgomaster and Council of Zurich." He closes: "We thank your Grace for your work, which since it has so little foundation in the Word of God, your Grace might have spared; for in truth, had we had any disposition to listen to human teaching contrary to God's Word, such was abundantly at hand without your writing. We are, however, firmly resolved, with God's help, to follow closely and perseveringly the clear Word of God, and to pull down all that has been put up in defiance of it, not as though we would do this by our own power, but in the strength and counsel of God. We place our trust in Him that He will accomplish that which He has begun, to the praise and the glory of His name. To Him be glory and praise for ever. Amen."

In the meantime, the Diet of the Confederacy, instigated by the papal Deputy and the Bishop of Constance, resolved to suppress the Reformation by force of arms. The unfortunate Itinger affair (see section 6) seemed to offer a pretext for carrying this resolution into effect. The Council of Zurich, under these circumstances, deemed it expedient to request an expression of opinion from the Christian people of the Canton, in reference to the work of the Reformation, the more so, since the Council, in the affairs of religion, confessedly acted only as the representative of the Christian community, which, according to the views propounded by Zwingli, is composed of all the faithful. A plain and lucid statement was made to the people of all that had been done in conformity with God's Word, and the threatening character of the present relations were not concealed from them. "Our Confederates have sent messengers with complaints to us. From these we learn that in Lucerne they have pledged their word to

suppress *the new spirit*, as they call it, by force, &c., &c. You will reflect how many a pious honest man we have spared in life to his wife and children, in these war times, by taking the Word of God as our rule, and by refusing to join the French alliance, and sell our bodies to foreign powers. In this and everything else you have proved your piety and zeal. How much more shall we not hold together in that which most deeply concerns the honour of God, the peace of our consciences, and the salvation of our souls—we mean the dividing of the word of life? Take friendly counsel together, and let us know your minds.” The answer from Winterthur contains in the main the sense and contents of all the answers returned to this address. “We hereby record, and have resolved, in as far as in our power lies, to keep fidelity and truth with our gracious lords as we have sworn; to place honour, body, property, and life at their disposal, to defend God’s Holy Word, and our own lives and liberties.” In every quarter, the desire was loudly expressed to preserve peace with the Confederates, and with the unions as far as possible.

Placing their trust in God, and confiding in the affections of enlightened and believing subjects, the Government of Zurich now advanced farther, under the leading of Zwingli, on the path of peaceful Reformation. The Mass, although the performance and attendance on it were optional, had within the period since the autumn of 1523, up till the winter of 1525, fallen greatly into desuetude, while the celebration of the Supper, according to its original institution, had not yet been introduced. This was a state of things that Zwingli and his colleagues were resolved no longer to endure. On the Tuesday preceding Palm-Sunday, they appeared before the Council, to renew in an emphatic manner the petition presented at Christmas; that now at length, on the occasion of the Easter festival, the celebration of the Supper according to its original institution might be ordered and appointed. At this time, Zwingli again delivered his views on the Supper.* The town-clerk, Am Gruet, combatted these views, and maintained the words, “this *is* my body,” to be a plain expression, that the bread is the real body of Christ; consequently they establish the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Zwingli quoted in defence of his own statement several

* See Sections IV. and V. below.

passages, as, "The seed is the Word;" "I am the vine;" "The rock was Christ," in all which places the *is* has the force of *signifies*. Am Gruet objected, that these passages were taken from parables, and proved nothing. Zwingli, on the other hand, shewed that most of the passages referred to were not contained in the parables, but in the "expositions," consequently the objection was without force. The Council passed the resolution: that the Mass be abolished, and the Lord's Supper, according to its original institution, and with a Liturgy, prepared for it by Zwingli, be celebrated on the following Thursday, being a high day.* The Reformer, before going to bed, occupied himself in looking for passages in which the copulative "is," incontestably, and unconnectedly with parables, has the sense of "signifies." The matter was present to him in his dreams. He seemed in dispute with Am Gruet, and could not rebut his chief objection. Suddenly a person appeared to him, and said: "Why don't you cite second book of Moses, chap. xii. ver. 11, where it is said, 'And ye shall eat it (the Lamb) in haste; it *is* the Lord's Passover.'" Zwingli awoke, looked up the passage in the Greek translation, and chose it as his text for the sermon he was to preach the next day. At an after period, he told this dream, making the observation, that he did not know whether the person who appeared to him in the dream was white or black. His enemies made him out to be black, and asserted that the devil himself had whispered this doctrine into the Reformer's ear.

On High Thursday 1525, the celebration of the Lord's Supper was for the first time performed, accompanied by the Liturgy prepared by the Reformer, and already in print. The altars were

* It is plain that the Liturgy, in order to have been repeated by the congregation, must have been in the hands of the communicants before the celebration. Previously to the year 1531, however, this co-operation of the congregation ceased, and deacons took their parts in the colloquies with the pastor. The celebration of the Sacrament was, on the motion of Zwingli, appointed to be held on the four existing high festivals (high-zylic), namely, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, All-Saints. After 1530, however, on the last named along with other festivals being abolished, which had no reference to Christ and his work, which were not "*feſta Chriſti*," the autumn communion in Zurich fell out, and was not revived till 1768, when it was fixed on the Fast-Day of the Confederacy. At Easter, a threefold distribution of the Sacrament took place according to its original institution, namely, on High Thursday to the adult youth, on Good Friday to the middle-aged, and on Easter Sunday to the old.

removed,* and in the place of the principal altar, a table covered with a white cloth was set, on which the wooden plates with unleavened bread, and the wooden goblets with the wine of thanksgiving, stood. The administration of the ordinance was performed in the following manner:—

After sermon, the minister with the deacons takes up his place behind the table, his face turned towards the congregation, and says in an audible voice—

In the name of God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The congregation: Amen.

The minister: Let us pray. (The congregation kneel.)

Almighty and everlasting God, whom all creatures honour, worship, and adore, as Architect, Creator, and Father, grant unto us, poor sinners, that we, with upright hearts and with true faith, may render unto Thee thanksgiving and praise, as Thine only begotten Son, our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, by the commemoration of His death hath commanded us believers to do. And this we pray for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who with Thee lives and reigns in union with the Holy Spirit one everlasting God. Amen.

Hereon the clerk, standing at the right of the minister, reads the passage, 1 Cor. xi. 20-29. The clerks, with the whole congregation, on this being finished, say, "God be praised." The following hymn is then sung in responses. The minister begins:

Glory to God in the highest.

The men: And peace on earth.

The women: And good-will to men.

The men: We praise and exalt Thee.

The women: We invoke and adore Thee.

The men: We praise Thee, O Lord God, King of heaven, Father Almighty, for Thy great mercy and goodness.

The women: O Lord God, O Thou only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and O Thou Holy Spirit.

* The pyxes and altars were broken up and removed. The first experienced this fate because Christ had not commanded "the elements" to be enclosed and worshipped, but to be distributed. Out of the stones of the altars pulpits were built, from which Christ was to be preached.

The men : O Lord God, Thou Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

The women : Thou who takest away the sins of the world, hear our prayer.

The men : Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us.

The women : For Thou alone art Holy.

The men : Thou alone art King.

The women : Thou alone art The Highest, O Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Men and women : Amen.

Now the Clerk says : The Lord be with you.

The congregation : And with thy soul.

The Clerk reads John vi. 47-63. After having read this passage, he kisses the Book, saying, "God be praised and thanked," He will forgive us all our sins, according to His Holy Word.

The congregation : Amen.

Hereon the apostle's creed is confessed in responses, by men and women. After this confession of faith, the clerk says: "We shall now, dear brethren, according to the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, eat bread and drink wine according to His commandment, in grateful commemoration of the death He hath suffered for us, and the blood He hath poured forth for the taking away of our sins. Therefore let each prove himself, according to the words of Paul, as to what comfort, faith, and surety he hath in our Lord Jesus Christ, that none give himself out for a believer who is not, and thereby make himself guilty of the Lord's death; also, let no one sin against the Christian community, (or body of Christ.) Therefore kneel down and pray: 'Our Father which art in heaven,'" &c. &c. The congregation closes the Lord's Prayer, spoken by the clerk, with a simultaneous Amen. Now the clerk prays farther: "O Almighty God, who by Thy Spirit hast made us through unity of faith to be one body, which body Thou hast commanded to say praise and thanks to Thee for Thy great goodness and mercy, in that Thou hast given up to death our Lord Jesus Christ for our sins, grant us to do this with such true hearts that we may, by no hypocrisy or falsehood, grieve Him who is the truth itself. Grant us also, we pray Thee, so

innocently to live, as it becomes Thy body, the members of Thy family, Thy children, that thereby also unbelievers may learn to know Thy name, and recognise Thy glory; O Lord, forbid it that through our lives Thy name and glory should be blasphemed. O Lord, Thou who livest and reignest for evermore, increase our faith." Hereon the clerk reads a second time the passage, 1 Cor. xi. 23-26. At the words, "He took the bread," the minister takes the bread, breaks it, and gives it to the clerks on his right and left. The same is done with the cup. When the passage has been read to the end, the minister communicates. The appointed office-bearers then bear the bread and the wooden cups with the wine to the communicants, who receive the communion kneeling on their footstools.* While this is going on, the last addresses of Jesus to His disciples, from John xiii. and following chapters are read from the pulpit. On the ceremony being finished, the minister begins to read Psalm cxiii., which, after his pronouncing the first verse, the congregation carry forward in responses. Then the minister: O Lord! Thou who livest and reignest God to all eternity, we thank Thee for Thy great goodness and mercy. The congregation: Amen. The minister: Go in peace. The Lord bless, &c. &c.

This celebration of the Lord's Supper was accompanied by blessed results. An altogether new love to God and the brethren sprang up, and the words of Christ received spirit and life. The different orders of the Romish Church unceasingly quarrelled with each other; the brotherly love of the first centuries of Christianity returned to the Church with the gospel. Enemies renounced old deep-rooted hatred, and embraced in an ecstasy of love and a sense of common brotherhood, by the partaking in common of the hallowed bread. Deeply touched, Zwingli thanked the Lord for these wonders of love, which the mass-sacrifice had never accomplished. "Peace has her habitation in our town,†—no quarrel, no hypocrisy, no envy, no strife. Whence can such union come but from the

* In the country, where suitable individuals were not to be found to assist the pastor as above, he read alone. When the responses of the congregation fell into desuetude, the whole Liturgy was read by the pastor. In the town-churches, as in Zurich and Chur, the Sacramental Liturgy is still read by the pastor and his assistants, the latter sometimes selected from the students of theology, with responses on the part of the congregation.

† In a letter to Œcolampad at Basle.

Lord, and our doctrine, which fills us with the fruits of peace and piety."* Along with the abolition of the mass, and the introduction of the Lord's Supper, changes in a similar spirit were effected in other parts of divine worship. These, too, were transformed so as to serve solely the purposes of instruction and edification. *Baptism* was administered in the German language, with the omission of superstitious observances and exorcisms. *The Catechumens*, instead of being subjected to the Confirmation, received at Easter and Christmas the lesson "to keep God before them, His Word and revealed will, and learn from thence their duties towards Him and their neighbour, to look up to Him as to a Friend and Father, and to apply to Him in every time of the body and soul's need. Such I believe," continues Zwingli, "to have been confirmation, as practised in the early church, and it served this purpose, that those who were baptised in infancy might, on coming to years of discretion, confess the truth with conviction after knowledge obtained. The name 'Confirmation,' too, distinctly shews this."

The unintelligible *mass and choir-chanting* in a strange tongue was made to cease, according to the word of the prophet, Amos v. 23: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs: for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." "Wherefore," exclaims Zwingli, "farewell, ye temple-murmurs, and paid drawling prayers,† ye will do us no more ill; good, I know, ye have never done us. But hail, O pious inward prayer that the Word of God awakens in the heart of the believer; thou gentle sighing of the soul that lasts but for a moment, yet knows itself, then listens farther to hear what God the Lord will say and reveal. Hail, likewise, thou general prayer, offered up by all Christians for one another, not for pay, but from the heart, be it in the public temple or the pri-

* Merle d'Aubigné, "History of the Reformation."

† The Papal Church knows no congregational singing; it is therefore false to say of Zwingli that he did away with it; he rejected, however, unconditionally, the Mass and Choir-chantings, drawled over in the Latin language, and left separate communities as they chose to introduce the German hymn. He himself, although a warm admirer, and a profound judge of music, did not introduce it, solely from want of time, in the pressure of affairs, to select fitting hymns, and to arrange Divine worship for it in a manner accordant with his own views. We find, however, a commencement in this direction in his metrical version of the 129th Psalm, for which he also composed a tune. Judges speak highly of its merits.

vate sanctuaries of Christians. I know that Thou art the prayer to which God will give that which He hath promised." The organs, likewise,* which, at that time, were too successful in ministering to intellectual laziness and absence of thought in the clergy, were removed, as Bullinger says, because they were found not very well to consist with the apostolic doctrine, as taught in 1 Cor. xiv. On the other hand, the Word of God accompanied by prayer was preached with increased zeal. A Bible-lesson took the place of matins; at nine o'clock an exposition of Scripture, (the prophesying,) followed, this service falling out on Friday, which was market-day; Bible instruction again took the place of Vespers; on Sabbath, there was a forenoon and afternoon sermon. Thus Christians had the sound and wholesome spiritual food of the Word of God presented to their acceptance in rich profusion. Their hearts, trained to seek salvation in Christ Jesus alone, drew largely out of His fulness, and grace for grace.

But this young and new nursery of the Word of God required a protecting hedge. It was preserved against fresh errors and new declensions, by a Christian discipline such as the gospel of Christ demands. To it let us now turn our attention.

8. ZWINGLI'S LAWS AND REGULATIONS FOR MAINTAINING CHRISTIAN MORALITY AND EXERCISING DISCIPLINE ON LAITY AND CLERGY.

In the corrupt Romish Church the ordinances which ought to have preserved and supported Christian morality, and maintained discipline, had degenerated so far from their original design as to have become nothing more but merely the richest sources of gain to the clergy. The greatest iniquity, and the most enormous crime, found a ready pardon from the Church for *money*.

* In confirmation of this statement I quote what was written by a layman shortly before the Reformation: "The popes and the priests have completely oppressed us. Firstly, They have discovered the way to fish out all our secrets, namely, by the Confessional. They next compel us to go to church, but it is only that we may sacrifice our money. On the other hand, *they* never go to church themselves, except when they hope to get money. Their duty is to come to church to sing, but *that they may be obliged to sing less, they have set up the organs to do their work*; there fails but one thing, and for this they work night and day, and that is, that we may go to hell for them."

Hence vice teemed in all quarters, and at the papal court itself in rankest fecundity. In contrast to this corruption, the Reformed Church has in nothing so much manifested its divine origin, and its living connection with its Head and Redeemer, as by that moral purity which it has exacted from its members, and the strictness of discipline which, according to the directory of God's Holy Word, it has exercised. The Confessional, to be sure, which enables the clergy to wield so important a power over the laity, was abolished, as having no foundation in God's Word. "Holy Scripture," writes Zwingli, "knows of no other confession but this, that man should know himself, and throw himself at the feet of the mercy of God, according to the word of the psalmist: 'I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sins.' (Psalm xxxii. 5.) As God alone pardons sin, and gives peace to the wounded spirit, we must ascribe the healing of our wounds to Him alone, and open them alone to His healing hand. Who has ever discovered a wound to another except to the physician from whom he hoped to receive healing counsel? Thus it is with the Confessional. It is God alone who heals our souls; it is to Him alone we ought to disclose our wound. If, however, you do not know the physician, or do not know where he dwells, no man forbids you to shew your wound to an intelligent counsellor, and ask him for advice. And if he be a wise and true friend, he will certainly point out the physician to you, who understands his art so well as to be able to cure you. I shall now explain the similitude. He who is unacquainted with the physician, is that man who has not yet recognized the grace that is in Christ, but, conscience-smitten, strives to relieve himself of the burden of sin which oppresses him. The intelligent and faithful counsellor is the servant of the Word, who, like the Samaritan in the parable, pours wine and oil into the wound. Wine denotes the bitterness of repentance which it produces, by holding up a glass to the man, in which he sees himself, and whereby, despite all his wriggling and striving against it, he arrives at a full view of his hypocrisy. For that is a sour and bitter thing which advertises a man, '*Thou art thoroughly wicked;*' yet bitterer, '*Thou canst not deny thy wickedness;*' but the bitterest of all, '*Thou art dead in sin, and thy case is desperate.*' 'Tis now that the wound

begins rightly to smart and burn. The servant of the Word ought now to pour in oil; I mean he ought to point out to him *Christ*, who is anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows. The minister of the Word ought to shew how great mercy God has conferred upon us through Christ. If the sinner has learned this, he will let himself be stopped by none, but will forthwith run with all speed to Christ. As respects the arguments in favour of confession, they are hardly worth an answer. For if one understands but the little which I shall here say, it will not be difficult for him to see that the Confessional, as it has been in use among us, has no place in Holy Scripture. To confess (*confitere*) signifies, in the first place, as much as to praise and give thanks; thus praise the Lord, for He is good. Next, it signifies have confidence in Him; confess that He is our rock and our refuge, as in Psalm civ. It farther signifies, acknowledge the guilt laid to our charge. In this sense those at the present day confess their sins, who, when they hear the Word and are hit by it, run straight to the physician. Finally, we "confess" when we reveal a secret fault or crime to our neighbour, or to one learned in the Scriptures, that he may either help us to beseech mercy from our heavenly Father, or that he may give us advice how, in the future, we are to resist this sin. Of this confession James speaks in the fifth chapter of his epistle, ver. 16: 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.' On this passage the papists have founded the doctrine of ear-confession, although the holy James speaks of nothing of that kind, but simply of a confession which one makes to his neighbour, when he lays bare to him some inward and hitherto concealed wound. Nothing more can be extracted from the above passage, but that each is to go to his neighbour, and beg of him that he would help him to pray to God for his sins, and that his neighbour or friend may be induced to do this with the greater zeal, he discovers to him his secret wound. In a word, *he confesses* rightly, and *he confesses* sufficiently, who puts his trust in God, who praises and thanks Him, who acknowledges to Him his sins, and bewails them, who unceasingly, with the help of his brethren, prays to God for pardon; he, I say, *confesses rightly*. He who is in such a state of mind has, in truth,

the greatest need of a priest. But of what priest? Not such an one as, with false keys, opens his gold coffers as a thief, but he who, out of the Word of God, shews him at once his own misery and God's mercy. Therefore confession, made either to a priest or a neighbour, ought not to be called a *discharge for sin*, but an *asking for advice*."

Although, however, the oft-abused power over the conscience which the Confessional afforded was thus taken out of the hands of the clergy, it was by no means Zwingli's design to relax the bonds of discipline. The duty appeared the more necessary and important in his eyes, of watching with true pastoral vigilance and fidelity over all the members of the flock entrusted to his care. A whole net-work of laws and ordinances on morality and discipline, derived from the Word of God, was cast around the infant community, by which thousands were preserved from errors and gross sins, and gradually trained up to be living members of the Church of Christ. *Marriage* occupied a chief place in this system, as being that institution which, more than any other, exerts an influence on public morality, since it is a true image of the spirit prevailing in the family, or rather, the result of it. Zwingli had to restore this ordinance also to its original signification, and divest it of that false splendour which had been cast around it, as if it were a *sacrament*, that he might set its real sanctity and inviolable character in its true light. "Let no man suppose," says he, "that the dignity of marriage is thereby diminished, that I count it not a sacrament, as it has been thought by some Paul does in Ephesians v. It is my opinion that a twofold error has been committed in the interpretation of this passage. In the first place, the Latin translator has rendered the Greek word *μυστήριον*, which he ought to have translated *secret* (arcanum), in every case by the word *sacrament*, a sense which the Greek will not bear. In the second place, we have not weighed the meaning of this passage with sufficient care. Paul, namely, intends nothing more here than, by a comparison of Christ the bridegroom and His Church the bride to a husband and wife, to express that Christ has died for His own people, and has made himself completely *theirs*, and at the same time, that husband and wife ought reciprocally to do all and suffer all for each other. The husband, as the image of God, is especially

to love and protect his wife, and give himself for her; the wife to hang on her husband alone with love and true fidelity. By so doing the spouses most closely resemble God, while God, on the other hand, condescends to call himself and His Church by the respective names of husband and wife. Thus marriage is holy, since neither Christ himself nor His Church, nor any believing soul, contemns to be likened to it. If, then, it be maintained that marriage is a sacrament, because it presents an image of Christ and His Church, I shall not dispute its title to be so called upon this ground. But a *consecration* or *necessary obligation* it is not, but simply a bond of union to a common life and fate, to common joys and sorrows."

From this point of view Zwingli, in contradistinction to the Romish Church, declared marriage, on certain conditions, to be dissoluble. Christ, indeed, says: "What God hath joined together that shall not man put asunder." "In my opinion," continues the Reformer, "the proper sense of these words is this: No one shall lightly condemn the divine ordinance of marriage as Papists and others have done. And no one shall lightly part those that have been joined together in wedlock. The Lord condemns only divorce on frivolous pretences, as was common among the Jews; by no means every divorce. Neither does He only except one cause for divorce, although He only mentions one. It is, namely, customary for the Hebrews to understand under the lesser all the similar, and still more, all the greater cases. As the least cause He specifies adultery, and at the same time draws the limits beyond which no divorce can take place. For why should God exclude all those causes which are equally weighty and even weightier than adultery, as for example, treachery, poisoning, patricide, &c. Likewise he who is, by nature, incapable of begetting children, is divorced by laws human and divine, and the woman may marry again, although this is nowhere stated in Scripture. Yet Paul says: 'If they cannot contain let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn,' 1 Cor. vii. 9. Finally, Paul permits divorce where the union is unequal, when one has left the other on account of the faith."

But while Zwingli, on these principles, declared marriage to be *not sacramental*, and to be in certain cases *dissoluble*, yet he took care, on the other hand, that its true dignity and sanctity

should be all the more rigidly upheld and preserved by the means of a strict Christian legislation and discipline. At the betrothal itself, all must be avoided which might possibly disturb its holy relations. Hence a betrothal was alone held to be valid, which bridegroom and bride, with the consent of parents or guardians, had entered into with their own free will, and to bring about which, neither delusive promises nor selfish match-making, youthful levity, nor the application of any description of force on the part of parents or guardians, had in any degree co-operated. From the laws on marriage, which were passed under the influence of Zwingli, arose the following custom at the giving of the promise: The parents of the bridegroom and bride, with their nearest relatives, held an interview, in which the proposals of marriage were discussed and considered, and then and there written down and signed. Thereon, a clergyman, or if there were none present, one of the most respectable members of the company, took the hands of the bridegroom and bride, and laid them, the one in the other, and formally betrothed them.* A few days afterwards, the nuptial ceremony was publicly celebrated in the church, after the parties had been twice proclaimed. Finally, the law protected the sanctity of the marriage-bed with the severest penalties, as it threatened a violation of it, first with imprisonment, then with deprivation of the rights of citizenship, banishment out of the town and canton, and finally, in the case of the incorrigible, with death by drowning. The above is about the sum of the marriage laws, passed in 1525, and which were read every quarter of a year from the pulpit, that none might excuse himself on the ground of ignorance. The pastor, along with two or four pious and respected members of the community, who bore the title of marriage-judges or marriage-guardians, watched over the administration of the laws and regulations. The Marriage Judicial Court of the town, consisting of six members, became, after Zurich had separated itself from the bishopric of Constance through the Reformation, the highest court of appeal in matrimonial questions for the whole canton.

The whole of civil life, indeed, in farther development of an ecclesiastical constitution, based on the gospel, came to be traversed

* In all probability the secret betrothal of Zwingli was performed in this manner by one of his ecclesiastical friends.

by suitable laws, highly favourable to morality. The sanctification of the Sabbath above all, was stringently commanded, with the diligent attendance on public worship, after the abolition of the holidays, except a few,* which took place in 1526. "There is scarcely another law," Zwingli writes, "which God more frequently inculcated on the Jews, than the keeping of the Sabbath. By this law, God graciously commanded man, who is formed of body and soul, to rest his body from labour, that his soul may more conveniently occupy itself with Him. The Sabbath has its foundation in the two first and highest commandments, in which are contained 'the law and the prophets.' It is grounded on *the first commandment*, which leads us to the one God with all our heart, soul, mind, and strength, because we come together on that day to hear God's Word, by which we are introduced to the right knowledge of Him as far as this depends on teaching. Thus Paul also speaks, Rom. x. 14, 'How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard.' It is therefore plain that by the administration of God's Word, we are brought outwardly to the knowledge of the one true God. This, however, takes place on Sabbath, as is to be seen, Acts xiii, and 1 Cor. xvi. 2, on which account the Sabbath is by no means to be held as a mere ceremonial ordinance. It is likewise founded on *the second commandment*, which says, we are to love our neighbour as ourselves. On which account we ought to give our servants rest and refreshment. But observe how the Sabbath becomes ceremonial. If we celebrate it after the Jews on *the same day* on which *they* celebrate it, it were then ceremonial, because it were then bound to time, which is an element of this world—an outward thing. Or, if we thought that the Lord's day, that is the Sunday, were also bound to time, so that we dared not transpose it and the hearing of God's Word to another

* According to a decree of the Council of 1526, the following holidays, besides the Sundays, were to be celebrated: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All-Saints' days, which four chief festivals were called high or high-season, and at which the Communion was dispensed, then St. Stephen's day, the day of the circumcision of Christ (New-Year's Day), our Ladies' Day at Candlemas, Easter-Monday, Ascension, Pentecost, John the Baptist's Day, Mary Magdalene's Day, and the day of Zurich's patron saints, Felix and Regula. In 1530 all holidays which had respect to the creature were done away with, and besides the Sundays, only Christ's festivals, with Easter-Monday and Pentecost-Monday were retained.

day, if necessity required this to be done, then also it were ceremonial. But we are not to serve the time, but the time us, so that in every church, if necessity required it, for example at the time of harvest, we can place the observation and rest of the Sabbath on another day, or we may work the whole of the Sabbath after having first heard the Word of God; but this only *in case of necessity*; in all other cases, we ought to let our relatives and our servants rest, as has been already said, and the one bear the other's burdens. If, for example, an avaricious master were to compel his servants to work on the Sabbath, pointing to the words of Christ, Mark ii. 26, 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' he would err. But how? Just because he treats the Sabbath as a ceremony of no importance. The Sabbath is, so far as it is a ceremony, abolished, and no longer concerns us, for Christ has freed us therefrom, Matt. xii. 8, that is from the ceremonial part of it. *The spirit* of the law is, to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourselves. Now it belongs to *the spirit of the law*, to hear God's Word, to meditate on His benefits, to thank Him for them, to assemble together for public worship and prayer, and next, in respect of love to our neighbour, to allow him to rest on that day. For although we are not bound to a set time, yet we are still bound by the glory of God, by His word, by His praise, and by love to our neighbour to keep a Sabbath. Love will also teach us when we are to work and when we are to Sabbatise. For love never fails. A pious master will never deny his servant the requisite rest, and just as little will a pious servant refuse to work when it is necessary, or rest and go idle to the loss and damage of his master."

The celebration of the Sabbath was regulated according to these principles laid down by the Reformer. It was ordained by a mandate of the civil magistrate of 1530: "That seeing that, firstly, and above all things, we ought to seek the kingdom of God; and seeing that His Word is the only sure guide and directory to this kingdom and to our salvation, we order and ordain that every man, be he noble-born or a commoner, be he of high or low estate, man or woman, child or servant, shall attend the church-service every Sunday at least, at the set time of public worship, except he be prevented by sickness, or other

sufficient cause." It was farther ordered that each was to remain till the services of the sanctuary were finished, and in no manner to disturb the same. All inns must be closed before and during Divine service. At the time of the harvest, permission was granted to gather in the crops, in the case of threatening or tempestuous weather, and with consent obtained of the whole ecclesiastical community. Gambling, cursing, and all excess in eating and drinking, as well as in dress, were prohibited under penalties; and while the small public-houses, which gave occasion to all sorts of wickedness, were entirely shut up, drinkables were nowhere to be furnished after nine o'clock in the evening. The New-Year's Day, riotous jovialities, and the carnivals, especially the masquerades, were, as "vain pastimes of Popish extraction," to be no longer tolerated.

The execution of these laws and regulations was diligently superintended by the clergymen, with the marriage-judges, whose numbers and duties increased in proportion to the enlarged development which the laws of ecclesiastical discipline gradually acquired, so that it became at length necessary to add to the marriage-judges proper, the civil magistrates of each district or community, along with two elderly men of worth and standing. This board of moral discipline thus composed, summoned delinquents before them, warned and exhorted to a Christian moral life and conversation, excluded the offending and impenitent, till reformation, from partaking in the Communion, and designated them to the civil magistrate for punishment.

In respect to excommunication, Zwingli had, in 1523, in his Propositions, laid down the following principles: "No single individual can impose excommunication; it belongs to the Church, that is, to the community, in which he that is worthy of excommunication dwells, with their pastor, to do this. It ought to be done in exact conformity with the prescriptions delivered by Christ in Matt. xviii. 15, &c., and the sentence ought only to be executed against those who cause public scandal. Thus applied, excommunication is wholesome. For what is more effectual in removing gross and open sins than excommunication? You have, let us suppose, an open adulterer in your community, who gives offence to the whole body; how can you amend him better than by first warning him in a friendly spirit? if on this he does not

give up his sin, by next taking him more strictly to task in the presence of one or two witnesses; and if thereon he do not alter his way of life, by advertising it to the church or community. This will then exclude him, and receive him again as God enjoins. Let it thus be done with all vices, which cannot in justice be passed over in silence. Besides, we are all sinners: and each has need that his neighbour pardon and forgive him. But, in the case of shameless vices, which give public offence, the iron rod of Christ must be applied—for this shews itself very wholesome—that the whole body may not fall into a state of putrefaction and die.” The sins which are to be removed out of the Church of Christ by excommunication, Zwingli counted to be adultery, all kinds of unchastity, blasphemy, drunkenness, and the still more serious sins of perjury, theft, and murder, as also avarice, especially as it discovers itself in usury and fraud.

These principles, however, received only in part their practical application. We have seen above that Zwingli's main object was, with the silent approbation of the community, of which he was secure, to protect the young and tender plant of the Reformation against the wild excesses of the Anabaptists. With this view he delivered up the ecclesiastical into the hands of the civil power, but always on the understood condition, the latter were to take the Word of God as their sole directory in all their proceedings. That this might be done, Zwingli and his colleagues watched their conduct with a jealous fidelity, and denounced every attempt to exceed the prescribed limits, with the courage and energy which became them as guardians of a holy treasure, and as prophets of the truth. Excommunication in Zurich thus modified itself in accordance with these ideas. It was, indeed, pronounced, especially in country districts, by the ministers and the Stillstand* (kirk-session), as a temporary exclusion from the communion on *great sinners*; but as a perfect disavowment from the communion, with loss of citizenship, the right of carrying on a trade, and all other civil privileges, it could only be pronounced by the temporal authority. This combination of the ecclesiastical and civil

* This court in Zurich for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline was called Stillstand, for the reason, that at the close of divine worship the members remained in the church *still-standing* with the pastor, making their communications to one another, and reproving those cited before them for discipline.

powers in one body had already a historical foundation in Switzerland; for in the most illustrious period of its annals the civil power had effectively maintained its right to decide upon the temporalities of the church, as also in questions of discipline and morals, with the inclusion of the clergy, high and low, within the jurisdiction. Zwingli, as a patriotic Reformer, wished to revive this fine old time with its simplicity of manners, its vigour of character, and honesty of purpose. He wished, therefore, the magistracy to retain its ancient lustre, and to discharge its high duties with the old integrity. Besides the historical foundation Zwingli found in the apostolic Church an example of the combination of the spiritual and temporal powers. "Those elders, (presbyters,)" says he, "who assembled with the apostles (Acts chap. xv.), to consult about the outward affairs of the church, were not the ministers of the Word but elders distinguished by age, wisdom, and faith, who, in respect of the regulation and transaction of ecclesiastical business, occupied the same position as the Council does in the State." To the objection that, in the apostolic Church, *the apostles* and not *the magistracy* pronounced excommunication* on blasphemers, Zwingli replied, "that the present relations of the Church to the civil power had become very different from what they then were, the apostles were placed under a heathen magistracy which did not inflict any punishment on vices that a Christian ought to avoid. That the church might have a punishment for such vices, she took into her own hands the warning and cutting off of such offenders, for with the sword she could not punish them, since it had not been put into her hands." This was the apostles' reason for applying excommunication in these cases. When, however, a Christian magistracy punishes such vices, excommunication becomes no longer necessary.

Zwingli had come to entertain suspicions against excommuni-

* It was at this time chiefly *Æcolampad* who, in Switzerland, pressed the introduction of ecclesiastical excommunication, who also differed materially from his esteemed friend in regard to its form, expediency, and application. The question was discussed in several assemblies and synods; but Zwingli's view always prevailed; without doubt for the reasons, that it better corresponded with the already existing Swiss relations, and that, in a church beset by so many tempests, it was the only practicable course that could be adopted, as the attempts of *Æcolampad* at Basle afterwards proved.

cation, from seeing the frequent and wanton use made of it by the Anabaptists. "The Anabaptists," said he, "err greatly in pronouncing excommunication on the most trivial offences, and even on those whose punishment properly belongs to the civil power." The transference of a certain authority, however, to the civil magistrate in this matter, had not the effect of preventing the vigorous administration of discipline in individual cases, and, in particular classes of the Christian community. The magistracy bowed themselves under the authority of God's Word, brought home to their hearts by faithful heralds, with all the power of living conviction, and they wielded with a Christian seriousness the rod of discipline both on themselves and their subjects. In the separate communities the ministers worked in union with the Stillstand Court by warning, exhortation, and reproof, in the implanting and cultivation of Christian morality and virtue with very beneficial results. The procedure to be followed on the part of the minister and the Court of Moral Discipline was fixed and prescribed at a later period, according to principles laid down by Zwingli, to be as follows: Against the punishable the mode of proceeding appointed by the Saviour, Matt. xviii. 15, &c., shall be observed. The pastor, on an evil report being brought to him against some member of the congregation, on the truth of which he can depend, shall, if the case admit of delay, and no public scandal has been given, warn the offender alone, in the first instance, to depart from his wickedness and unrighteousness, and exhort him in a friendly and fatherly spirit, but always with a due regard to the special circumstances of the case. In the event that such a warning is no longer practicable, or in the event of its having proved fruitless, even after a repetition of it, the pastor shall then take with him, but in all secrecy, one or else two of the nearest relatives of the offender, or one or two members of the Stillstand, or other respectable and worthy men, who, in the circumstances, may appear to him to be the fittest for the purpose, and endeavour to win the offender over by pressing representations, that thus he may be spared the higher degree of punishment. If, however, this course be not practicable, or if the matter, by reason of its importance, cannot be ordered in this manner, the pastor shall then act with the advice and co-operation of the elders and marriage-judges, or

of the whole Stillstand, whom, if the case admit of the postponement, he shall summon to meet on the next Sunday, or Fastday, after sermon, in the church; he shall then and there open to them the scandal given, shall cause the disobedient person to present himself, and, with the advice and co-operation of the above mentioned, he shall use his best endeavours to bring him to repentance, and to lead him back to the path of virtue and godliness. If the transgressor remain unmoved by all remonstrances and exhortations, he shall, last of all, be handed over to the supreme civil power, who shall then declare him to have forfeited all his ecclesiastical and civil rights, till observed repentance and melioration, or shall banish him the land."*

This vigorous ecclesiastical and civil discipline spread itself over all the relations of life, and produced the most beneficial results. Under its protecting and sheltering influence there grew up and flourished those manly and hardy virtues which so richly adorned the Church of the Reformation at its commencement. To make these laws and regulations, however, of practical avail to the community, it was clearly necessary that the ministers of the Word, in the first instance, should be under its power, and that their walk and conversation should be regulated by the spirit of the gospel.

For the purpose of watching narrowly over the doctrines and the lives of the clergy, the half-yearly synods were introduced in the spring of 1528, "to the praise of God, and a protection to his everlasting Word," as the decree of the Council appointing these meetings bears. Twice every year, at Easter and in autumn, all the pastors, who were accompanied by one or two members of their congregation appointed by the Council, were obliged to appear in the town in a Synodal-Assembly which, on the part of the Council, was attended by the burgomaster, six councillors, and the town-clerk, who recorded the proceedings. The sitting was opened by prayer, "in which God was supplicated for grace, that the deliberations of this assembly might, in a spirit of seriousness, be directed to the advancement of His glory, the weal and prosperity of His Church, the maintenance of truth, and the promotion of godliness and true piety, that none within it might be falsely

* So runs the ordinance in question. At all events, this high judicial excommunication was only executed in very rare cases.

accused, or any unduly favoured. Upon this the ecclesiastical members took the synodal oath: "That I shall teach and preach the Holy Gospel and Word of God, to which I am called, as it is contained in the Old and New Testaments, in truth, and with a full Christian understanding of the same, to the best of my ability, (according to the mandates issued by my lords, the Councillors of Zurich, at the Reformation of faith and doctrine,) and shall mix no dogma or doctrine that is doubtful, and not yet introduced and approved by the regular assemblies of the Church. I shall likewise bear true loyalty and fidelity to my lords, the burgomaster and Council, as to my superiors, and to the citizens; shall advance the best interests of the town and canton of Zurich; shall warn them of all that is injurious to their true interests, and avert it in so far as it lies in my power, and shall give all due obedience and heed to their bailiffs and officers, to their commands and prohibitions in all things, just and lawful; I shall keep the secrets of the Council, and reveal nothing which may bring loss or cause reproof: all which I swear truly and faithfully to observe."

The proceedings of the Synod commenced under the presidency of Zwingli, assisted by Leo Jud. The Synod occupied itself almost exclusively with inquiries into the doctrine, occupations, walk, and conversation of the individual pastors, with the distribution of exhortations, reproofs, and punishment, where these were deemed necessary.* For the purpose of carrying out this *reciprocal personal censure*, the clergy divided themselves into ten sections, who, each in their appointed order, retired from the Assembly till a deposition was taken in reference to each from the members of the congregation who were present, from their neighbouring colleagues, and from all members of Synod who were in a position to give information. This deposition had especial regard to the doctrine of the individual in question, his fidelity in the discharge of official duties, his love to Holy Scripture, his application to it and other useful studies, his life, and the example he set, his domestic economy, and the demeanour of

* For erroneous doctrine, neglect of official duties, and irregularities of life, the synods could impose temporary suspension from office, imprisonment, and deposition. Offences against the civil magistrate committed by clergymen were punished by the same. The wives and relations of the clergy were also subjected to the punitive code of the synod.

his wife, his children, and the members of his household. Necessary and wholesome as this institution proved itself to be, it was yet in the execution, and in particular cases, accompanied with very considerable difficulties, especially as the monks and ecclesiastics of the dissolved cloisters and foundations, who drew stipends from church property, were under the surveillance and discipline of the Synod. A great part of these could by no means be brought to abandon the idle dissolute life which they had been accustomed to lead in the corrupt Romish Church, while the attendance on sermon and the new public worship, to which all were bound, was to them in the highest degree distasteful. The Council, to procure a better obedience in this latter respect, saw itself compelled to exact a small fine (a quarter kern),* from the negligent and obstinate, which was deducted from their income, for every sermon or lection they neglected to attend.

By these and similar measures, a severe and strict discipline was exercised over the clergy and all connected with them. The great scandals they had caused to the community in the Romish Church were thus removed from the Reformed Church. And the more that the ecclesiastics submitted to the rod of Christ, and desisted from their old and bad practices, the more time the Synod found to turn its attention to other church matters. It was about this time that the Baptismal and Marriage Registers were introduced. The object of the first was to meet more successfully the disorders of Anabaptism, and also to ascertain with exactness the age of the adult youth of both sexes, which, with the view of preventing a betrothal, was sometimes falsified by the parents. The special object of the Marriage Registers was to learn "who lived together in a state of wedlock and who not; that, in the latter case, they might be made to complete their union by a regular ecclesiastical marriage, or if not, made to separate."

Thus the wholesome work of reformation was completed by Zwingli in the Church of Zurich, after the model of the Apostolic Church and the directory of the Word of God. In the preface of "Christian Order and Customs of the Church at Zurich," he says, in reference to the completed work, "The Apostolic, the

* The income of the clergy, as well as the stipulated annuities to the monks and canons of the dissolved monasteries and foundations was reckoned according to a standard of corn and wine, and mostly paid *in naturâ*.

first holy Church of God, had the pure doctrine of truth, prayer, breaking of bread, holy baptism, acknowledgment of sin, repentance, amendment and pardon of sinners. (Luke xxiv.; Acts ii.; 1 Cor. xi.) The Church of Zurich has these also. What necessary customs the primitive Church had, the Church of Zurich has likewise. Marriage is performed with a due regard to order, and with an earnest appeal to God. The memory of the departed is sacred, as of those whose faith and love we ought to follow. The dead are buried with decency, although not with such ceremonies as have no place in the Word of God. (1 Thess. iv.) Fasting and alms-giving, so highly esteemed by the ancient Church, have also in Zurich their peculiar, excellent, and Christian regulations. The youth are diligently instructed in the elements of the true Christian faith. That there are no outward decorations to be found in our churches of silk, gold, silver, pictures, carved and engraved work comes from hence, that the old Church had none such, but rejected them. For this reason the Church of Zurich has disburdened itself of all ceremonies, and holds itself to the ancient simplicity. God will not be honoured with the outward appearance, but with faith, love, with a pure heart, and with truth. To Him be glory and praise, through Jesus Christ, for ever. Amen."

FIFTH SECTION.

ZWINGLI'S LABOURS FOR THE EXTENSION AND SUPPORT OF THE REFORMATION WHICH EMANATED FROM HIM, IN THE OTHER CANTONS OF SWITZERLAND, AS WELL AS IN GERMANY, FRANCE, AND ITALY.

“For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.—1 Cor. ix. 16.”

1. ZWINGLI'S RELATION TO THE NEW EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT, AS THIS MANIFESTED ITSELF IN SOME OF THE SWISS CLOISTERS.

THE Reformation is an act of God, and not a work of man, however great and glorious the men appear in the annals of history whom God called to execute this His great counsel. The Reformers themselves, illuminated by God's Spirit, which leadeth into the knowledge of all truth, recognized that they themselves were nothing, that in the Word of God alone there is to be found infallible truth, in Christ alone everlasting salvation. “But,” says Zwingli, “he who feels in his own soul the value of this salvation, and the rest and peace it affords, cannot bear that his neighbour should be ignorant of its joy.” Hence a holy apostolic zeal animated them to publish to the whole of Christendom the truth they had themselves acquired, to revolutionise and renew public worship and private life, according to the demands of God's Word. Yet all their labours and conflicts, as they themselves, in all humility, acknowledge, would have been in vain if God had not powerfully drawn the hearts of men to himself by His Spirit, and awakened them to faith. But just because God sent forth this spirit, like the animating breath of spring, over Christendom, the hearts of men opened willingly to the preaching of the Word of His grace, and the Reformers were joyfully hailed as ambassadors of God for the redemption of His people out of the fetters of error, as giants to deliver them out of the pit of destruction. At sight of this glorious awakening,

which manifested itself everywhere, Zwingli was unable to restrain his emotion, and cried out in a transport of joy: "The world hangs on the gospel, ay, even although ye Papists were to go mad for it. Nay, even where ye suppose there is not a thought of Him, there the very children find the living God. From fear of your rage they hide that before your eyes which in their hearts grows fresh and green, and is already sending forth buds."

The consciousness of his call to be a fellow-worker with God (1 Cor. iii. 9.) in the great work of the renovation of Christendom filled the heart of our Reformer, in the midst of his labours, with a joyous feeling of triumph, which at times he gave utterance to in some such words as, "That which is begun with God, no man can frustrate, but that which is built up without Him must fall." This conviction inspired him with courage to combat every obstacle which placed itself in the way of the work of Reformation, and to respond with cheerfulness to the numerous claims that were made upon his industry and zeal. As the newly preached gospel gained one victory after another in Zurich, and more and more took shape both in the public services of the sanctuary and in the lives of its professors, the friends of evangelical truth in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Italy turned ever and anon their regards, full of hope, upon the indefatigable champion of the gospel there. They applied to him for light upon difficult passages of Scripture, for consolation and advice in inward doubts and trials, for direction and encouragement in the carrying on the same work and conflict in their own sphere of labour. With the heart of an apostle, Zwingli lent ever a willing ear to the solicitations of individuals and the Church. He answered all the prayers and questions sent to him in reference to the extension of the gospel, although he had nearly sunk under the burden of labours imposed upon him. "The pressure of business," he wrote once to Haller, "and the care of the Church, impose such a load upon me that Dr. Engelhard lately said he wondered very much I did not lose my understanding. The Suabians write to me, and desire of me more than I can do, although I exert myself to the utmost to content them. There write to me from Switzerland almost all who are exposed to persecution for Christ's sake. And to give you an example of how

much my time is taken up by business, I shall just mention that I have been more than ten times interrupted during the writing of this letter."

Let us now contemplate, in a few examples, the fulness of confidence with which the hearts of the friends of evangelical truth opened to Zwingli. On the other hand, let us observe the carefulness and watchfulness with which he laboured for the extension of the gospel, and for the culture and support of that divine plant which had sprung up at his feet. The newly arisen evangelic light had darted its rays even into the cloisters, so that here a glorious movement manifested itself. Margaretha von Wattenwyl, in Koenigsfeld, (Canton Aargau,) wrote to the Reformer: "Grace and peace in Christ Jesus be ever granted you from God the Father. My prayer to your reverence is, not to be displeased with my simple epistle; for Christian love has moved me to write it, hearing as I did how, through your preaching of the Word, evangelical truth and doctrine daily increase. Therefore I give thanks to the Almighty and Eternal God that He hath again enlightened us, and by His Spirit sent so many true teachers and ambassadors of His Holy Word. I pray and beseech Him that He may grant strength and might to you, and all who proclaim His divine Word, that His divine Word may more and more increase in all men." Albrecht von Sandenberg, Comthur of the German order of Koenitz, near Berne, was likewise illuminated by a ray from the gospel. Having scruples, however, whether he would be justified in abandoning his position, and breaking his vow, he expressed his doubts to Zwingli in a letter, begging him to instruct and counsel him as to what he ought to do. Zwingli answered him: "Almost all the abuses in the Church come from the neglect of the doctrine of Christ; for it is indeed no wonder that men should fall into gross errors when they abandon the light, and love the darkness. God is bound to no town, neither to Jerusalem nor Rome, but He is everywhere. All those who represent Him as being present only in certain circumscribed localities are false Christians, nay, anti-Christians. Therefore it appears to me a bad design to conquer Jerusalem again by force of arms. Jerusalem, as it now is, is to my mind a weighty proof for the truth of the gospel; for so Christ prophesied beforehand, 'Jerusalem will be trodden down

of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.' (Luke xxi. 24.) Behold! the Gentiles are now there. Why shall we levy war to drive them out, seeing that God has otherwise determined? Your order sets before it the reconquering and holding of Jerusalem. I know not a shadow of foundation in reason or Scripture for such a design. Yet here something must be allowed to the times, it being at one time held, in the vain conceit of human wisdom, as a great service done to God to protect or to retake such holy places. It is, however, but a vain conceit, as above said. Man fancies that God is especially honoured by orders, companies, sects; but Christ says, 'In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' (Matt. xv. 9.) What are orders? Human inventions. Here the objection does not hold good: If one man promises to another anything, he is bound to perform it. Undoubtedly; but you must keep your word to God as well as to man, and you ought to do only that which is well-pleasing to God, else when you vow to God that which He does not desire, it may be said to you, 'Who hath required this at your hand?' (Isaiah i. 12.) There is nothing more contrary to the will of God than sects, companies, orders, distinctions; it therefore becomes every man at all seasons to break loose from what is displeasing to God, and lay hold on the free grace of God. I leave it here with you. Do as God commands, only do nothing which can give just ground of offence or disturbance to any one. We must not only leave a small temporal estate for God, but even the whole world. Farewell, and may God guide you."

The gospel penetrated into the Carthusian monastery of Ittlingen (Canton Thurgau), and the desire awoke in several monks for farther light and instruction. Three Carthusian friars of this cloister, unknown to each other, applied to Zwingli, and opened to him their hearts, with the request he would instruct and advise them. The brother Valentin de Saxonia addressed him in the following strain: "Often I speak with you and you with me, dear Huldreich, my glory and my hope, and yet we are personally unknown to each other. Does not that look like an idle tale? And yet it is no idle tale, but a fact that repeats itself daily. Whose heart is not filled to its innermost recesses with Zwingli? whom does he not instruct? whom does he not influence? I

speak of those who love the truth. For I rejoice, that to the other gifts of Christ this also must be counted to you, that you displease many, by which test alone I am wont to distinguish proofs of God's goodness from those of His anger. I wish you God-speed, because while you give the highest satisfaction to the good, you displease all those who would raise themselves upon the necks of others, and who require from them undivided homage and submission." Disturbed in his conscience as to whether monkery was in accordance with Scripture, and whether its riches were honestly come by, and uncertain whether he should go or remain, he prays Zwingli, for the love's sake which moved the Father to send His Son from heaven to earth, to give him enlightenment and instruction on monkery, vows, tithes, the Mass, &c., &c. "Shall I leave the order, lay aside the monk's dress, and earn my support by the labour of my hands, or what shall I do? Is one rather to expose himself to death and temporal punishment than in this way to be a monk, namely, to live according to the mere doctrines of men, to get food and clothing from an unrighteous calling, and to go idle every day? You will much oblige me if you will instruct me by letter in this matter. The Lord Jesus, my dear Huldreich, keep thee ever." Jodocus Hesch, of the same monastery, was not so far advanced in evangelical doctrine, yet he too found himself moved to open his heart to Zwingli. "God," says he, "my conscience, and the whole community to whom I have hitherto preached, are my witnesses how truly and faithfully I preach the gospel; what heed I take to say nothing injurious either to true piety, or that may cause disturbance, and create a factious spirit, or that may injure the name of a good man; how anxious I am not to draw the doctrines of Scripture from the nearest standing-pool but from the source itself" He expresses his judgment of Zwingli with great candour: "You have gifts from which Helvetia must expect everything: an ardent, lively, sensible and manly understanding, a retentive quick memory, a versatile intellect, skilled in lore, human and divine, a pleasing fluent delivery, eloquent language. For these accomplishments, I should rate you not alone as the sole remaining glory of Zurich, but of the whole of Switzerland, if there were united to these purity of doctrine and agreement with the opinions of the orthodox Fathers of the Church, and with the

customs of antiquity." He then relates the story of his life, and how after the loss of his excellent spouse in his 28th year, he became a Carthusian, and that he had not once repented of this step, and he closes this self-confession with the prayer: "Lord see this my resolve, which Thou thyself hast inspired; let my pilgrimage be well pleasing in Thy sight, and guide my erring steps in the way of salvation. Grant, O Lord, to me, unworthy, that Thou mayest stand by me on the day of my departure and the hour of death. Ah, Lord God, remember not my transgressions and my sins, but receive my spirit in Thy great mercy when it leaves this body. Enter not into judgment with Thine unworthy and sinful servant. Grant, finally, that this soul, the work of Thy hands, may never be taken by pride or vain conceit, or bow under the sceptre of the enemy of mankind, or, becoming a prey to unclean spirits, be made the sport of hungry dogs. Therefore, I beg of thee, O merciful Jesus, by the love with which Thou embracest the whole human race, and which moved Thee to descend from heaven to earth, and to take upon Thyself the frail nature of man, to expose Thyself to hunger, thirst, frost, heat, trials, mockery and scorn, blows and stripes, and, at last, the death of the cross; by this love, I beg Thee, Jesus, my Saviour, turn Thine eye from my sins when I appear before Thy judgment-seat, to which I daily feel myself called. Punish me not for my trespasses and my guilt, but pardon me in the merits of the cross. Thy dearest blood, Jesus, which Thou hast poured out on the altar of our atonement for the redemption of mankind, be the payment and satisfaction for my guilt. You know now, my Zwingli, my life and character, which I have here painted with truthful strokes, from whence you may easily conclude whether I have taken the monk's dress at the inspiration and command of God or of Satan." This upright sincere heart, in which the grace of God had begun to work thus mightily, could not long remain satisfied with half-measures. Hesch, after he had been farther illuminated by the Spirit of God, and instructed by Zwingli, decided afterwards unconditionally for the Reformation. With a like sincerity, the brother Alexius, of the same monastery, applied to Zwingli, begging of him advice and instruction. The Abbot James Russinger of Pfäfers, was also won by Zwingli to the gospel, and advanced to the utmost of his power

the preaching of it. In the monastery of Wettnigen, Zwingli had also friends; and the Abbot George Mueller arrayed himself openly, along with a great number of his monks, on the side of the Reformation.

Thus burned the flame of gospel truth, fanned by Zwingli, cleansing and purifying many a heart and conscience, corrupted and debased by monastic observances, and groaning under the yoke of human doctrines and traditions, handed down from centuries, and from which it might almost have appeared impossible to free them. But neither cloisters nor foundations were to be the means of extending and supporting the gospel in the different districts of Switzerland; God had chosen another and far mightier instrument for this purpose, which came infinitely nearer the hearts and consciences of the people. This means was *the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures in the mother-tongue*. Zwingli says: "Every peasant's cottage became a school, in which the highest art of all was practised—the reading of the Old and New Testament; for the right and true schoolmaster of His people is God, without whom all languages and all arts are but nets of deception and treachery. Every cow and goose-herd became thereby better instructed in the knowledge of salvation than the schoolmen." The friends of the Reformer, by adopting his hints, and drawing encouragement from his zeal and example, extended this glorious evangelical movement in the towns and valleys of Switzerland.

Let us now, in Zwingli's circular letters to the different cantons, and to his fellow-labourers in the work of the gospel, take a closer inspection of his great apostolic heart, which beat so strongly for the weal of the Church of his native country, and the implanting and extension of evangelical truth within its borders.

2. ZWINGLI'S ZEALOUS LABOURS FOR THE EXTENSION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF EVANGELICAL TRUTH AND DOCTRINE IN THE CANTONS OF EAST SWITZERLAND.

In the Canton Glarus, Zwingli's scholars and friends in the love of the truth, preached the gospel, and carried on with all fidelity the work he himself had begun there,—Valentin Tschudi,

blindness and guilt. Has not that been a great blindness that we, although the Almighty God who hath created us hath so oft and in so many ways revealed himself that he is our Father, and who at length hath given His own Son to die for us, who likewise stands there and calls to us poor sinners : 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;' is it not great blindness that we, nevertheless, have gone and turned ourselves to the creature, and thought God to be so hard and cruel that we dare not come unto Him? And though we have called him Father, yet we have not done it in the Spirit of Christ, for we have not recognised the mystery of His grace in giving His Son to die for us, and have ascribed salvation not to the grace of God, but to our own works, polluted, worldly-minded, selfish and foolish though they are. But that has been done, that we might the better know and learn God and ourselves. *Ourselves*, since we see that all our power and wisdom is nought, is of no significance, of no avail, but that at the very moment when we fancy ourselves to be strong and wise, God lets us sink into despair, helplessness, and blindness. For He will that *His Word* alone be obeyed, and that the life be regulated by *it alone*. So now in our days that the light of His Word hath displayed itself to such a degree that we therein can see the treacherous dark lies of Satan, the works of darkness will not come to the light but cry out against it. And when they can effect nothing against the truth openly, they take to their old arts, and lay secret snares for its preachers, endeavouring to ruin them by lies and false witness. Therefore, ye have acted in a wise and Christian manner, that ye have not let the preachers of the Word be imprisoned, tormented and slain, at the complaint and desire of every one, against all justice. I write this, not as if I were concerned for the temporal life of the evangelical preachers, (for their lives are alone in the hand of God,) but that your hands may be clean from such misdeeds. If Christ has been subjected to false accusation from wicked priests, His disciples are taught by Him steadfastly to endure the same. But woe to those who commit such things. Therefore see to it that the Word of God be faithfully preached among you, and without additions. But above all, see to it that it be obeyed. For the name of God is blasphemed by those who give themselves out

as Christians, and who live not as Christians. Therefore let all speak before God and his neighbour the truth; let your speech be yea, yea, and nay, nay. For thus will you serve God in spirit and in truth. Abandon all blasphemy, intemperance, gambling, fornication, adultery, and mercenary warfare, help the poor, protect the wronged and the oppressed. Regulate your whole lives according to the divine Word, and set your consolation and trust alone in the Almighty. I should have often written to you, if two causes had not hindered me. Firstly, because my enemies would immediately have cried out, I was seeking human aid and consolation by you, which, God be praised, I can well dispense with, on the one hand, because the pious in Zurich have not suffered any injustice to be done me, and on the other, because I would rather have the might of God to be seen, and was unwilling to cast pearls before swine. But where a door is opened to the gospel I take not holiday. Secondly, because, willing as I have ever been to preach the gospel in the place of my birth, I have been always hindered from it. Be now intrepid and undismayed. May God, who has chosen you to walk in His light, increase it to you more and more, that ye may grow in His grace, and that His name may be sanctified and glorified by you, and that after the misery of this life ye may have joy at His right hand for evermore. Amen. Let not yourselves be misled by the wicked lies and strange stories that are told of me. The powers of darkness are always busy at this work. But as for me, I will, by God's grace, so teach and preach that nothing else shall be found in me but a doctrine in conformity with His Holy Word. Every talker may call me heretic, but I know the devil cannot make me out one with you."

This manly Christian epistle decided the victory of the gospel in the Reformer's native valley. The Council and the community in the same summer, 1524, caused, through delegates, their will to be published to the assembled clergy, "that the Word of God be preached with one accord." The Abbot of St. Gall, indeed, in union with the Bishop of Chur, sought to persecute its preachers. Three evangelical clergymen, Melitus von Wattwyl, Doering ab dem Hemberg, and Farer von Stein, were accused by the abbot before the Chapter of disobedience. They answered quite in the spirit of Zwingli: "Convince us by the Word of God, and

we shall submit ourselves, not only to the Chapter, but to the least of our brethren in Christ, but in the contrary case, we shall obey none, not even the mightiest potentate." They appealed, moreover, to the instructions of the Council, to preach from this time forward the Word of God, and this only had they done. The accusers were obliged to return home without effecting anything.

The following occurrence appeared likely to be one of greater moment:—On St. Catherine's day (25th November) of the same year, a county meeting was held at Lichtensteig, before which two deputies from Schwytz appeared in a case of hereditary succession. At dinner one of the deputies called out, "Magister Huldreich Zwingli is a thief and a heretic." Henry Steiger, the town-clerk, indignant at this calumny of his esteemed countryman, immediately demanded a retraction of the insulting language. If not done he would prosecute at law. In the meantime, a near relative of Zwingli's, George Bruggman, who happened to be sitting at another table, got word of the calumnious speech, and rising in great wrath, with some other of Zwingli's friends, was on the point of taking vengeance by some act of violence. It was only with difficulty that the Council, which was now assembled on the open market-place, could prevent matters coming to such an extremity. This they at length effected by adopting Bruggman's declaration, "Magister Huldreich is a pious, excellent, honest man, and whoever says the contrary, is a liar, villain, and thief." Upon this decision being come to by the Council, the Schwyzer delegates, boiling with passion, rode off homewards, and set their whole canton in movement against the inhabitants of Toggenburg, for the disgrace to which they had been subjected. But the Toggenburgians, above all the men of Wildhaus, swore to stand by Zwingli to the last. Thus this storm likewise passed away without any farther and more serious consequences resulting from it, and without damage to the gospel. Zwingli could, in June 1525, write again to an honourable Council, and to the community of the county of Toggenburg in general: "I thank God, our heavenly Father, that He hath enlightened you by the light of His Word, and hath introduced you thus into the knowledge of the truth, so that you continue steadfast in your confession of it, which, however, comes

all from His grace and mercy, and not from your wisdom. To Him be everlasting praise and glory. May He from henceforth encompass you with the shield of His defence and protection, that you may increase more and more in all that is good. Amen."

In the neighbouring pleasant hill country of Appenzell, the glad news of salvation and the morning light of the Reformation were likewise hailed by many with joy. A zealous pioneer of the faith in this quarter was James Schurtanner, minister in Teufen. Zwingli wrote to him (March 1524): "Be manly and firm, dear James, and let not yourself be overcome, that you may be called Israel. We must contend with the foe till the day dawn, and till the morning-star arise in our hearts, (2 Pet. i. 19,) and the powers of darkness hide themselves in their own black night. I say this to you, not as though I doubted you would give up the contest, but to encourage you, in that you hear how your zealous diligence is a balsam of life to believers. For God is my witness, that my heart leapt for joy when we heard that the pious people of Appenzell had received the Word of God. I should have been anxious, too, to have heard of their confirmation and establishment therein, did I not know the faith, truth, and love which you have towards God. With these I doubt not you will finish the good work which God has begun in them. It is to be hoped that although their canton is the last in the order of the Confederacy,* it will not be the last in the faith. For these people dwell not in the centre of a fertile country, where the dangers of selfishness and pleasure are greatest, but in a mountain district, where a pious simplicity can be better preserved; which guileless simplicity, joined to an intelligent piety, affords the best and surest abiding-place for faith. Christian doctrine and Christian practice can be nowhere more easily planted than among a people unschooled in the deceitful arts of the world. Not as though I meant that intellect and wisdom were wanting in the pious Appenzellers, but their simple faithful lives shew us somewhat of the old Confederate, so that the Word of God will, without doubt, train among them a pious and God-fearing race, who will

* Appenzell joined the Swiss league in 1513, and was the last in order of the so-called old cantons.

extirpate that selfish spirit among us, which, as brother Klaus of Unterwalden* predicts, is waxing deadly. For where it spreads its rank weeds, no good regiment can exist. Wherefore, take care, as heretofore, of your children, whom you have begotten in the faith, and train them so that neither flattery nor threats may have the power to turn them from sound doctrine. Defend yourself well against the teeth of voracious wolves, and let them not tear your sheep from you. Bear yourself like a man of God, and may your heart be strong in God, of whose support you may be sure. Salute your faithful fellow-workers in the gospel of Christ, the Bishop of Gais, Bernhardin, and all who hold truly to God, as, God be praised, we hear the most of your bishops do. I commend you to God, with all the people of Appenzell; and pray for me to God with all your people."

The Reformation spread and strengthened its roots more and more, especially in the outward-lying communities of Appenzell, in the direction of St. Gall. The majority, however, of the inhabitants of the inner parishes, in the quarter of Scutis, continuing obstinately by the old church, which produced great bitterness of feeling between both parties, it was resolved, at the end of the sixteenth century, to divide the canton into two parts, or rhodes, according to the confessions of faith. Whoever was papistical was to dwell in the inner rhodes; whoever was evangelical in the outer. At the separation the Reformed numbered 6322, the Papists 2782. In St. Gall, which was in the outer district, Zwingli's learned friend, already well known to us, Dr. Vadian, the burgomaster, was a principal prop of evangelical truth. This burgomaster lectured to his fellow-citizens on the Acts of the Apostles, in order to set before them the image of the first apostolic church. A contemporary hence said: "Here in St. Gall it is not only allowed to hear the Word of God, but the magistrates themselves teach and preach it." With Zwingli Dr. Vadian kept up an uninterrupted intercourse of the most friendly description, and the word of this friend of his youth had always great weight with Vadian. Other evangelical men, both lay and clerical,

* Or Nicolas von der Fluehe, the well known hermit of Unterwalden, was held in much respect by Zwingli too, especially as he, like the Reformer himself, warned the Confederates against interfering in foreign affairs, and exhorted them to preserve their ancient pious simplicity.

formed close connections with Vadian, and forwarded the victory of the gospel in this town, despite the counteracting influences of a hostilely disposed abbacy.

But a storm that arose out of the very centre of the new church in this district took a more ominous character, and threatened to exert highly injurious effects on the tender evangelical seed in its first growth; I mean the fanatical errors of the Anabaptists. As soon as Zwingli saw the danger, he raised his warning voice with true apostolic fidelity, and despatched a circular-letter to the Honourable the Burgomaster, the Council, and whole community of St. Gall, from which we extract the following passage: "Most honourable and dear brethren in God, I deeply lament that such a storm has come over the first growth of the gospel lately planted and just springing up among you; yet I am not surprised at it, it is the stratagem of the enemy; wherever God reveals His Word, there, too, Satan sows his tares. We find also in the Epistles of St. Paul, that some, who made indeed a profession of the faith, but who had it not in their hearts, caused much offence by reason of outward things. We see the same in our day also, in some who, shortly before the commencement of Anabaptism, loudly preached before the whole world, "outward things are nothing, they are of no avail to salvation; let no man rest upon them." Here they spoke the truth, so far as it was done in love, and with measure. The same men we see now, however, for the sake of a mere external sign, destroying peace among Christians, and calling those who contradict them heretics and anti-Christ, although their whole design is nothing but to set up a heresy of the worst description,—I mean faction and schism." After describing at some length the proceedings and aims of the Anabaptists, he closes with the exhortation: "Wherefore, pious and honourable sirs and brethren, who have already made yourselves famous by your worldly wisdom and industrial pursuits, look well to it that in this time, in which the devil himself sets on us, seeking, since the sword of persecution has failed in dividing us, to divide us upon questions of outward things, look well to it, I say, that no man sow dissension among you through the gospel. For there are many so-called Christians who are just as much concerned for their worldly goods as your merchants are for their wares. Nor am I here speaking of

those vagabonds who run about the country making a gain of the simple. Such men do not desire the Word of God at all, but only employ it for their own base purposes. The Word of God, however, is not vain words to be so turned; it is spirit, and it is life. Be undismayed, perverse Anabaptists will accomplish nothing, for their cause is not of God. Let us pray God for one another. May He graciously preserve you all, Amen." As Zwingli predicted, this storm likewise passed away without inflicting any damage on the infant church, and to this favourable result his own letter greatly contributed.

To the mountains and valleys of High Rhaetie or Graubund the report also penetrated of *Zwingli's doctrine*, as it is called in a History of the Reformation* in this country, the doctrine, that in matters of religion nothing is to be believed except that which can be satisfactorily and plainly proved by Scripture, while, as to that which has no foundation in the Word of God, one man has the same liberty to reject it as others have had, and still exercise, to proclaim and establish it. Many pious souls, continues this historian, in the three common unions, welcomed this principle with lively joy, and received it as clearly proven and established that hitherto their belief had been shackled by many things which had no foundation in the Word of God. At the instance of the communities themselves, the Diet, the highest authority in the land, met November 1523, at Chur, to take into consideration measures for doing away with the grievances and abuses that prevailed in the Church. Eighteen articles were drawn up to this effect, and confirmed in the year following, of which we here give the first as the most important: "Each clergyman shall, for himself, purely and fully preach the Word of God and the doctrine of Christ to his people, and shall not mislead them by the doctrines of human invention. Whoever will not or cannot fulfil this official duty shall be deprived of his living, and draw no part of the same." In virtue of this decision, the Dean of St. Martin's, after a disgraceful confession of his inability to preach, was obliged to give way to Zwingli's friend, John Dorfmann or Comander, who now became the chief instrument of the Graubund Reformation. In Chur, he found the soil already prepared

* Ahorn's Holy Regeneration of the Evangelical Churches of the three Unions, composed of the freemen of High Rhaetie.

for the seed of the gospel through the labours of Salandrinus, the teacher, whom we have mentioned above as Zwingli's friend. But in proportion as he arose in the esteem of the friends of the gospel, and as the truth, through his labours, struck deeper, its roots spreading fast over the hills and dales of this mountain-land, in the same proportion waxed the animosity of the Bishop of Chur and his party against the preachers of the gospel, and, above all, against Comander. A band of armed men must accompany the herald of truth into the church, and defend him even in the sanctuary from insult and outrage. The same things happened in the country districts, where more than forty ecclesiastics had been gained over to evangelical truth. The Bishop of Chur now took steps to induce the Diet to interfere against the preachers of the gospel as heretics, insurrectionists, sacrilegists, abusers of the Holy Sacraments, and despisers of the mass-sacrifice. Zwingli, on hearing of the threatening storm, despatched on the instant, with an apostolic vigour, a circular letter, of date the 14th January 1525, from which we extract the following: "Grace and peace from God the Father! Dear sirs and brethren in the Lord, the holy Paul cared not alone for those whom he had converted to the faith, but for all the churches, that is, for all the faithful, that no infidelity, error, or scandal, might arise among them. I therefore trust that my present writing to you will not be misinterpreted, on the one hand, because I have heard how you have accepted that true and irresistible Word of God, and have permitted, in the most places, the free preaching of the same, and in the second place, because I am a native of the bishopric of Chur. Now I address you in this present concerning no other affair but that of the Evangel of the Son of God, in which God daily uses me with great labour, care, anxiety, contradiction, and opposition; yet He overcomes always who is Lord over all lords. To Him be praise and glory. I beg your worships well to consider how the Papal authority has taken captive the Word of God, and hid it in darkness, whereby the truth has been withheld from us, and an empty semblance presented to us in the place of it, whereby we have been not only cozened out of our worldly goods, but, as there is ground to fear, have had our souls' salvation put in jeopardy. This is the more especially now to be feared, since the truth has been set in the light of day, and yet many, blinded

by papistical doctrine, will not yield obedience to it. You see now how it stands with the Popedom, and on the other hand, how glorious and vigorous the truth everywhere displays itself, so that the whole Papal power can effect nothing against it, but has recourse to violence, maltreatment, lies, and bribery, against it, although, God be praised, it has not been able to overcome even the least of those who now, for a considerable time, preach the gospel. Wherefore, it is to be feared that if the civil power do not protect those who proclaim the Word, and who are able to give an account of their doctrine out of that Word, that God will again withdraw His favour from us, and allow us to sink again into our old errors. But let every one weigh well what danger and what loss would arise to the whole of Christendom, in body and soul, from such a result. As it is now well known to me that there are some among you who truly and faithfully preach the holy and unadulterated Word of God,—in particular, that honourable, learned, and faithful man, John Comander,—may the Lord confirm them in all good,—I beseech your worships to see to it that no violence or injury be done to these, and against the Word of God. Lay the Divine Word yourselves to heart, as it is contained in the Old and New Testaments, and let yourselves in no manner be swayed therefrom. Reflect on the healing and peace of the conscience, which can alone find rest in the Word of God; O let not this divine medicine be again snatched from you, and let not the deceiving treacherous word of any Papal emissary again take captive your conscience; for, as the prophet Amos saith, ‘the lion hath roared, who will not fear?’ so I ask, when God equips in its armour and reveals His Word, who will not give ear to and obey it? God does not reveal His Word but to the very sensible pain and punishment of those who will not hear it, and not without great profit in body and soul to those who follow it. The terrible destruction of Jerusalem is an example of the first, which rejected the Word, that is, the Son of God; while the sparing of Nineveh, because it turned to God, is an example of the second. Wherefore, pious, steadfast, wise, and beloved brethren in God, let not yourselves be seduced by those who seek to stir you up by secret lies and calumnies against the Word of God and its preachers, and those who obey it, thus hatching anarchy and revolt among you. This is the devil’s work; he is

powerless against the truth ; but seizes such weapons as lying, confusion, and distraction. May the God who hath begun to break Popery in your hearts, and to introduce you into the knowledge of His truth, guide and strengthen you, that we may all appear before Him with joy at the last day. Amen."

This earnest Christian appeal did not fail to produce a powerful effect in the Councils and communities of the Graubund. Accordingly, when the Bishop of Chur caused, through the Abbot of St. Luzi, his calumnious accusation to be brought before the Diet, assembled at Chur on the Christmas of 1525, against the preachers of the gospel, with the view of getting them condemned without a hearing, this high Assembly answered with dignity: "The law which demands that no one be condemned unheard shall also be observed in the present instance." John Comander was permitted to appear and defend himself, and at his desire, a religious disputation was appointed to be held between the parties at Hanz, on the 13th January 1526. The result of this Disputation, at which Hofmeister of Schaffhausen appeared, at Zwingli's instigation, although he was not allowed to take a part in it, was, that seven mass-priests publicly went over to and embraced the gospel, and that the Diet issued an ordinance declaring both religions in the three Unions to be free, and requiring that the clergy of both parties should abstain from reciprocal invectives and abuse, and preach nothing except what could be proven on good grounds from the Word of God. Thus evangelical truth gained a victory in this canton likewise. "Christ waxed strong everywhere in these mountains," writes Salondrinus to Zwingli, "like the tender grass in spring," and the evangelical pastors, like fountains of living water, refreshed mountain and vale.

Thus, on the gospel's gaining, after a protracted contest, the victory over the papacy in Schaffhausen, through the labours of Zwingli's friends, Sebastian Wagner, called Hofmeister, Sebastian Hofmann, and Erasmus Ritter, and on the Reformation's being fairly set up after the model of Zurich, in 1529, it might be said that the inhabitants of the whole of Eastern Switzerland in their great majority rejoiced in the light of gospel truth, and drank of the rich consolations which it affords.

3. ZWINGLI'S INFLUENCE ON THE VICTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN THE CANTON OF BERNE, AND IN THE OTHER CANTONS OF WESTERN SWITZERLAND; HIS RELATIONS TO FAREL

The question whether the gospel or popery should hold sway over the heart and conscience in Western Switzerland, depended for its solution on the course which the government and people of Berne might adopt. We have seen above with what earnestness Zwingli exhorted his friend Berchtold Haller to carry on the work of the gospel, that the crown of life might not fail him. Between Zwingli and his evangelical friends in Berne, Haller, Kolb, Meier, and others, there existed an uninterrupted spiritual intercourse. Every anxiety which distressed the latter, every doubt and uncertainty which disturbed them, every hope which cheered and gladdened them, the Bernese communicated without reserve to their esteemed friend and guide in Zurich. Willingly as Zwingli responded to their requests for the solution of difficult scriptural passages or doctrines, he felt himself called upon in humility to warn them not to place too great reliance on his opinions, but to try their own strength, as he was convinced they would accomplish more through it. Provost Nicolas von Wattenwyl, who stood at the head of the Bernese church, and who enjoyed an influence in it almost episcopal, read and admired his letters to Haller. Full of joy and hope for the future, Haller writes to Zwingli: "Our bishop Wattenwyl cannot sufficiently praise and recommend your dear letters to us. Rejoice him with one of your epistles. Our Bernese hunger for the Word of God, and we feed them according to the grace given us of the Lord; the Lord Jesus increases with us the number of the faithful daily, so that if God abandon us not, it will be hard to suppress His doctrine, much as a part of the nobility work against it." The Lord having here opened a door, Zwingli could no longer hesitate. "I feel daily more," he wrote to Haller, "what force the words of Paul have, 'necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel,' 1 Cor. ix. 16, for I too, small though I be, cannot possibly rest and take holiday, because the Lord who moves my heart will not allow it, though now and then

a sense of weariness and a fear of danger will steal across my soul, and fain lead me to give up the contest. Far removed from not watching and fighting with and for you, I cannot desist from it." To the Provost von Wattenwyl he wrote: "Grace and peace from God and the Lord Jesus Christ. While it is a source of joy, O dearest brother in Christ Jesus, to all Christians, that the faith daily increases and waxes strong in the good town of Berne, your native city, yet your own conversion from darkness to light gladdens me especially. For many things might have hindered you; your illustrious pedigree, (your father was often invested with the dignity of Schultheiss, and held other offices of honour,) your wealth, your own merits, your affability and courtesy towards all men, and, finally, the high esteem you enjoyed on the part of popes and bishops. But God has led you in a wonderful manner with your whole people. O how true is the saying of Christ, 'No man can come to me except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him.' He worketh all in all; to Him we shall render eternal praise and thanks for your faith. May God, who hath led us to the wondrous light of the knowledge of His Being and His Word, confirm in us all that He has begun."

The gospel struck its roots deeper and deeper into the hearts of the Bernese; the enemies of the Reformation in both Councils were forced to succumb to its friends. On Zwingli's learning of this happy revolution in the public mind, and change in the posture of public affairs, he wrote to Haller in the beginning of the year 1527: "My dearest Berchtold, everything knows its ordination, and even lifeless nature follows it. After the raw north wind come milder airs, and after the hot days of summer autumn displays its golden treasures. Ought we, then, now that the Creator of all things, in whose service we stand, levels the way to us by which we may penetrate into the centre of the enemy's camp, ought we, I say, to enter on the contest with less courage? No; unless we might be like the changeable winds. God has opened to you and to us all, in Berne, a door, at which we can take in the dove, for a time scared away but ever longing to return. But without a parable, Christian doctrine, once banished from our country, may now be freely preached. You are here the pilot and the saving Noah. Ply all diligence, seize hold of every opportunity, guard yourself against the reproach that

fine hopes have been blighted by your neglect, or by the work not being entered upon with sufficient zeal. Stand firm; hold on. Throw the hooks and the rod of faith so into the hearts of your people, that it will be impossible to again tear them out. The Lord send you light and strength." Brilliant success crowned the labours of Haller and his friends. On the Sunday succeeding Martinmas 1527, it was unanimously resolved, by the Council and citizens to institute, in the first days of the coming year, a Religious Conference, after the model of Zurich, "without digressions, invectives, offensive or abusive language, that the truth might not be concealed, but that the ground of divine truth, of Christian intelligence, and of saving health, might be discovered, and that a worship in conformity with the Holy Scriptures might be planted and observed." To this Disputation there were invited, the four bishops of Constance, Wallis, Basle, and Lausanne, (under whose jurisdiction the Bernese lands hitherto stood,) "as the superior pastors and shepherds, not ordained to shear the sheep, but to feed them, at the penalty of loss of rights and incomes in the territory of Berne." Farther, all the members of the Confederacy and Union, of whatsoever party they might be, to the end, that a common Confederacy might also be brought to a common faith without compulsion to any; and, finally, the whole Bernese clergy, and each and all, be he stranger or native, priest or layman, willing to dispute. All the friends of the gospel turned their eyes on Zwingli, on whose presence at the Disputation they believed the hopes of victory for evangelic truth in Berne to rest; in pressing terms Haller prays this "best beloved brother and champion in the cause of Christ," that he would be pleased to attend. "Would to God that you knew the ardent wishes of all of us that this affair might have a Christian issue. You know how much is here at stake, what shame, mockery, and disgrace would fall upon the Evangel and us, if we were found not to be competent to the task. I know, however, out of manifold experience, how much you have at heart the glory of God and His Word, the salvation of Berne, and of the whole of Switzerland, and that you will do all to aid us in this emergency and crisis of our history. My brother, fail not, the whole town sets its confidence upon you." Zwingli himself was equally resolved to indulge at once the impulse of his feelings,

and the intreaties of his friends at Berne, and immediately applied to the Council of Zurich for permission to attend this Disputation, that he might manifest to every one "that his doctrine was not heretical but truly Christian, not God-blaspheming, but God-fearing, not the offspring of selfishness and ambition, but of love to the glory of God, and the advancement of the general weal, not having for its object dissension in the Confederacy, but union." Far and near friends and enemies of evangelical truth felt the importance of the decision which was to take place at Berne. The four bishops and the Emperor himself, but most pressingly of all the papistical cantons, exhorted the Bernese to give up their design. They returned the dignified answer: "We change nothing in the twelve articles of the Christian faith; we separate not from the Church whose head is Christ; what is founded on the Word of God will abide for ever; we only shall not depart from the Word of God."

From Zurich, an invitation was issued to the Imperial towns of South Germany to send their learned men and clergy to this conference, and was joyfully accepted. On New-Year's Eve 1528, there were assembled in Zurich more than a hundred of the clergy and learned men from Suabia and East Switzerland. On the following morning they set out for Berne, accompanied by a delegation of the Zurich Council, and attended by a respectable body of armed men; the five Roman Catholic cantons through which their way led them, having refused a safe conduct. Onwards they moved to Berne, to take captive to Christ this proud city, which no enemy had neared with impunity, to establish His gospel there, and bring its heroic citizens under His gentle yoke. Zwingli, full of zeal for the glory of God, and ready to surrender his life at any moment in the service of his Master, rode at the head of the cavalcade, by the side of Burgo-master Roist, and one of the counsellors. On the 4th of January he entered Berne, whither in the meanwhile Eccolampad of Basle, and Bucer and Capito of Strasburg were already come. The Disputation began on the 6th, according to the regulations and directions of Zwingli, who also had drawn up the Propositions, and taken the charge of their printing. A combat, resulting in victory, was waged for eighteen days by the friends of the

gospel, in behalf of evangelical truth. In this contest, Zwingli,* even in the judgment of his antagonists, distinguished himself above all others.

A more lasting effect, however, than that arising from the superiority maintained in the Disputation, was probably produced by the testimonies of their Christian faith, delivered by some of the eminent learned strangers, in sermons which they preached in the Minster.† Zwingli delivered two sermons. In the first, he gave a justification of his faith and doctrine, explaining the Christian creed, and proving that in all points he concurred with the articles of faith in it. Upon his touching, in the course of his discourse, on the Romish doctrine of the mass, disproving it, and, on the other hand, developing the significance of the Supper, according to the institution of Christ, a priest, who was just preparing to read mass from one of the altars, was seen to throw aside his mass-weed, in which he had already arrayed himself, with the words, "If the mass rest on no better bottom, I shall neither read thee now, nor read thee more." Zwingli's last sermon he delivered immediately before his departure from Berne, when the victory of the Reformation had been decided. He accordingly embraced the occasion to exhort his hearers, among whom there were many steeled warriors, to Christian steadfastness, closing with the following heart-stirring appeal: "Wherefore recognise the freedom which Christ has purchased for you, and continue therein, according to the exhortation of Paul, Gal. v. 1, and be not any more bowed under the yoke of servitude or thralldom. Ye know the oppression we suffered in our consciences, led astray as we have been from one false means of comfort to another, which, however, only overloaded our consciences, which never made them free nor consoled them. But, behold, now

* "This beast," so writes a papistical hearer, "is in truth more learned than I had believed. The malapert Ecolampad may understand the prophets and Hebrew better, and in Greek he may equal him, but in fertility of intellect, in force and perspicuity of statement, he is very far behind him. I could make nothing of Capito. Bucer spoke more than he did. Had Bucer the learning and linguistical acquirements of Ecolampad and Zwingli, he would be more dangerous than either: so quick is he in his movements, and so pleasantly can he talk."

† Testimonials of Evangelical Truth in modern German, edited by R. Christoffel. Berne, Dalp 1853.

what freedom ye have, and what comfort in the knowledge of God, and in the confidence which ye have in Him through Jesus Christ. From this freedom and redemption of the Spirit, let not yourselves be ever moved. There is here a bravery demanded as in no other matter. But as our ancestors, God be praised, stood courageous and immovable in the defence of their civil freedom, so ought ye, and yet more steadfastly for that liberty which sets free the conscience here below, and which will crown you with everlasting joy above. At the same time, trust that the same God who has enlightened and led you, will also in His own time guide our dear neighbours, the other members of the Confederacy, so that we may live together more unitedly than ever in such a true friendship as consists with the will of God. May God, who has created and redeemed us, grant this both to us and them. Amen."

Before their departure from Berne, the strangers were witnesses of a fine act of noble-mindedness. The Bernese pardoned two individuals, who had forfeited their lives by a breach of the "urfehde," or solemn oath, not to take vengeance. "When a king or prince at friendship with us, visits us," said they, "we have the custom, in honour of our royal guests, to set criminals at liberty, with a recommendation to amendment of life. Now, however, that the King of kings and the Prince of Peace, the Son of God, our Elder brother, has condescended to visit us, why should not we honour Him, who brings to us redemption from eternal perdition, by pardoning those who have sinned against us?"

With the victory of the Reformation in Berne, a door was opened for the extension of the gospel to French-speaking Switzerland, particularly to Neuenburg, Waad and Geneva. Already there laboured here, with the zeal of an Elias, William Farel, a French nobleman of Dauphiny. He, too, felt himself irresistibly attracted by the heroic character of Zwingli, and he called the Reformer's attention to this part of Switzerland and France. Forced to flee to Strasburg on account of his evangelical labours, he calls from thence to Zwingli, in the language of admiration: "I wish you all joy that your faith manifests itself so gloriously, and that Christ, through whom you labour and contend, has so strong foundation in you, as is evident from

this, that you recognise His great grace in you, and attribute your strength to Him and His grace, to whom they belong, and not to yourself, ascribing only that to yourself which is seemly, so that God remains God, and man man." After recommending to him a countryman, who had been driven from his home for the gospel, requesting Zwingli, if possible, to procure him a situation as preacher or teacher in the Neuenburg district, or elsewhere, he entreats him to do all in his power "that in this way, too, some light may be thrown on poor France." Farel himself came afterwards into the very region where he desired to see his expatriated countryman provided for, and then he felt still more urgently than ever the necessity of combining his labours with those of Zwingli, and drawing strength from his strength. "Continue," he writes, "in the path you have entered upon, O bold Christian warrior, to shed your light before us, by piety, faith, and purity of doctrine, and pray the Lord for us, that He may grant us these gifts likewise more and more. A desire for the preaching of the Word shewed itself in Geneva ; but the inhabitants of Freiburg will not have it. Ah! if the Bernese were equally zealous for the glory of Christ as the Freiburgers are for papistical opinions and doctrines. Weigh well the great grace that God has bestowed on you, in that you can do much here for the glorifying of His name. I desire to have you as my fellow-labourer, as well in the work as the ripening fruit. Lend us, in your great foresight and wisdom, help."

In this manner wrought Zwingli, by the proclamation and triumphant advocacy of the gospel, by his bright example of Christian courage and evangelical steadfastness, yet more, however, by his counsels and his great influence over the magistracy of the different cantons, with the most distinguished success for the extension of the Reformation in his native country. If we consider, too, as is more fully to be seen in the Life of *Æcolampad*, that he stood with this servant of the Lord, chosen to extend and carry forward to victory the cause of the gospel in Basle, in the closest relations of Christian friendship, strengthening and inspiring him with his own heroic courage and the fire of his spirit, while Zwingli, on the other hand, drank deeply of the John-like love and profound learning of his friend, we have, with the blessed influence he exerted on the church of his native

country, an image before us of a true apostle, of a man truly great. It is with justice that Haller writes to him, "Thou art the eye and the bishop of the whole fatherland, nay, of the whole Christian Church." For Zwingli's glances extended beyond the limits of his native country, and his heart, on which the image of his Saviour was deeply engraved, beat high for the weal of the whole Christian Church.

4. ZWINGLI'S APOSTOLIC CARES AND LABOURS FOR THE EXTENSION AND CONFIRMATION OF EVANGELICAL TRUTH IN GERMANY.

After his country, the extension and the victory of the gospel in Germany lay nearest Zwingli's heart. His influence, through means of his numerous friends, bore most on the free imperial towns of South Germany and on the Rhine, where everywhere evangelical men laboured in the spirit of their great exemplar at Zurich, from whom they sought instruction and counsel, and from whom they received many a word of encouragement, explanation, and advice. With the zeal of a great military captain fighting at the head of his host, and encouraging his men to deeds of valour, Zwingli stirred up the preachers of the gospel in the towns of Suabia to combat the anti-Christian papacy. Let us see the force and effect of his words to his fellow combatants in the echo which they found in their breasts.

Urbanus Regius of Augsburg writes to his colleague, John Frosch, likewise of Augsburg, after reading one of Zwingli's hortatory letters to the latter: "I have read Zwingli's letter, and have re-read it, for I felt my soul inspired by it, and kindled to admiration. For the words of this man of God are fire itself, and kindle fire in you. And however little the pen is able to reach the force of the living word, yet there shines out of this letter, in a most wonderful manner, the genuine single-mindedness and fidelity of a truly pious heart, and an unspeakably lofty spirit, that leaves all our words far behind it. But I will not speak of the accomplishments and eloquence of this man. But mark with what carefulness his love takes in all, and thinks on all, how it overlooks nothing in its comprehensiveness that can minister to the glory of God, and the salvation of the brethren. Who is

there that suffers, and Zwingli suffers not? Think you that his soul is not daily moved by the care of all the churches, seeing that he so ardently desires that our Augsburg church may be well provided for? Our Zwingli knows well the devices of Satan, the deceit of this world, and the temptations of the flesh, which threaten and counteract the servants of the Word on every hand; for already, for some time back, he has, with great distinction, waged this contest against trial and temptation. I am deeply ashamed of my indifference and lukewarmness, when I consider this burning zeal, so much wanted in our times, and then when I reflect, with a bitter feeling of regret, how strong within me the flesh is, how cold I am in comparison of this glowing love of Zwingli's. Like a brave military chief, he calls on to the combat, while he himself advances, armed with the shield of faith, and skilled in war, and casting himself into the thick of the fight, drives back the onset of the enemy, and piercing to the very wedge-point of the enemy's host, he forgets not, in the sweat and dangers of the battle, his fellow-combatants either, but encourages them, and holds them sharply to the fight, that none may turn his foot to flight, or cowardly flinch from his post, nor, terrified by the greatness of the threatening danger, abandon the glorious banner of the Cross, and fall away from Christ, his Captain, to Antichrist. Paul, Christ's unwearied combatant, has often stirred up the lukewarm, and encouraged the wearied and the war-worn, by Christ's and his own example, to the joyful struggle against the woes of this life. With like love our friend, equally dear to you and me, encourages you, not doubting but that in so great a town there will be much to obstruct the Word. Go forward as you have hitherto done, persevere, and take to heart the encouraging words of Zwingli, which spring from the purest love."

It was not, however, with Urbanus Regius alone, it was with the greater part of the preachers of the gospel in all the towns of South Germany, that the admonitions of the Reformer told with such a spirit-stirring effect, that it may be truly said the Reformation formed itself here entirely under the plastic hand of Zwingli, and shaped itself after the model of Zurich. At a later period, when Memminger stood in danger of being deprived of the preaching of the Word through imperial tyranny, Zwingli

raised his voice to burgomaster, council, and citizens, encouraging them to united perseverance. "Consider, dear sirs and brethren," he writes, "if the moral and spiritual condition of mankind in the whole of Christendom be not so un-Christian, sinful, and miserable that the conscience of every man must pronounce this judgment: We must either better ourselves entirely, or God will punish us. Well, then, now that the mind not only admits, but sees very clearly, that all this iniquity has arisen, and grown to its monstrous size, under the false doctrine of the Pope, and that therefore it is impossible that *he* can point us to the right course, it is indubitable that we ought to direct ourselves by no other doctrine, if we really wish to better ourselves, and to be reconciled to God, except by *God's own Word*. Since, then, the Almighty God has opened up to you His Holy Gospel, in which the certainty of salvation is promised, and the example of a blameless life in Christ Jesus is shewn forth, ye ought, without doubt, to magnify God, that in the midst of danger, and the threatenings of His wrath, He has shewed you the way by which you can be reconciled to Him. And although the world for this reason hate, although they threaten to persecute and kill you, you ought to value little such threats. If, however, the time should come (as present appearances seem to indicate that it will ere long come) when you are called upon to confess your faith, so reflect, dear sirs and brethren, that Christ, our Captain, threatens also: Whoever denies Him, He will deny before His Father; and again, whosoever shall confess Him before men, He will also confess before His Father. Wherefore, confess ye the truth freely, and leave Christ, your Captain, to present your case at the court of the great King, in confident hope that He who hath granted you His light and His Spirit, will also accomplish that which He hath begun. Look not on your own strength, nor on the strength of your enemies, but see how strong He is whose affair it is you have taken up, and whom ye believe and serve. When has He abandoned those that trust in Him? Above all, strive to be unanimous and combined, for with union the smallest township has saved its honour, while with disunion the mightiest power has gone to ruin. Be wise, and concern yourselves also for the brethren, which is well-pleasing to God, that all having one spirit, may do one work and battle of God, everything in

the Lord, in all union and fidelity. For I promise you, by God whom I preach, that if ye be of one mind, and let not yourselves be seduced by the hire of falsehood and unfaithfulness, that God will certainly sustain you. I commend you to God, who is strong, and leaves none that put their trust in Him. Follow that sincere, faithful servant of the Lord, Simpert Schenk, and ye have nothing to fear."

We have already alluded to the fact that evangelical doctrine and the Reformation effected by Zwingli were welcomed and hailed also in the free imperial towns on the Rhine. In the spirit of Zwingli, and in close friendly relations with him, there laboured in Muelhausen Nicolas Prugner; in Mayence, for a time, Capito and Hedio; in Strasburg, Bucer, and Capito and Hedio, after they had left Mayence; in Frankfort, Dionysius Melander and John Haner, who, filled with admiration at Zwingli's steadfastness and true piety of soul, pressing solicited his friendship; in Hessen, Franciscus Lambert, who introduced Zwingli's original ideas on ecclesiastical discipline; in East Friesland, John Aportanus of Zwoll. Here there followed John of Lasky, who, upon a journey which he made from Poland, his native country, in 1523, for his farther instruction in the faith, was introduced to the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures by the Reformer in Zurich. The ray of divine truth had so fired his soul, that he exchanged the most brilliant prospects in his native country for the poverty of a servant of Christ. From Westphalia* also, and the Netherlands,† many turned their eyes, full of hope, on Zwingli. He himself felt a thrill of joy pervading his soul as his bookseller and friend, Christoffel Froschauer, on his return from the Frankfort fair, reported that the gospel had struck vigorous roots, and offered the fairest prospects in all the Rhenish towns. Occasionally, indeed, his heart was afflicted by the persecutions excited in many quarters against the infant evangelical congregations. Into the hearts of these persecuted members of the body of Christ he infused consolation and courage with the steadfast faith and unwearied love of a true disciple of Christ,

* The Westphalian poet, Hermann of the Beech-tree, corresponded with Zwingli.

† The visit of the two learned men, Rhodius and Sagan, shews how high was the esteem in which Zwingli stood.

and exhorted them to perseverance. When the town of Muelhausen was sorely pressed, by threats and temptations, to depart from the accepted evangelical doctrine, and to return to the papal Church, Zwingli sounded the note of warning and exhortation in the following circular, which he despatched to them. "None can be ignorant that opposition and trials must be encountered by those who will cling to the Word of God, as Paul also shews. (2 Tim. iii. 12.) It is therefore well to be conceived that ye must bear mockery, reviling, and menaces, since ye have come to the knowledge of the truth, and have adopted it. Yet such opposition ought by no means to distress you, for it is in adversity we first learn rightly to believe, to pray, to act, to counsel. When believers are tried with *force*, then first of all is faith proved; for then the believer knows whether he be firm and unchangeable, or whether he would fain draw back. But when faith is rightly fashioned it says, I had sooner lose the whole world than draw back. Now, for the first time, the believer recognises his faith, and becomes conscious of what it demands, namely this, that he set his hope upon God alone, and despise all other means of comfort. Those who experience no adversity may indeed speak of fortitude, but when the hour of trial comes, they often make a miserable exhibition of their faith. Therefore, all trials for God's sake ought to be welcome to us. For God hath thereto appointed them, that through them we may give proof of our faith, nay, they are designed to prove *ourselves to ourselves*. Before trial every one prayed according to his own fashion, and knew not what to pray for. (Rom. viii. 26.) But when it concerns the main thing, namely, our faith, in which our consciences are at clear agreement with God, and men will rob us of this, then our spirit screams, plains, and cries to God, in choking sighs, 'O Lord! ah! Lord God! help, O God! forsake not thy child.' But here Satan slips slyly and cunningly to our sides, and we say to ourselves, 'If I conquer, then it will be an honour to me too that I adhered to the Word of God,' and he tries to substitute falsehood and guile in the place of our integrity. Such attempts of Satan do indeed much disturb the spirit, so that such whisperings destroy all the fruit and joy of our faith, and now the spirit cries to God more earnestly than ever. But *danger* teaches us not only to believe and

pray, but to act well; for then it is we are zealous to do alone those things which please Him who is our only refuge and resource, and through whom alone we can overcome our enemies. Therefore, stout-hearted servants of God, stand firm. He who beholds our conflict is not blind; He spies not out of a narrow window; He oversees with His omniscient eyes all camps, lands, and creatures. Nor will He overlook you who are struggling for His name's sake; He will see you; He will also see, when the time comes, your enemies, and will carry them away, like withered leaves before the autumn wind. May God increase your faith. Then the world shall know that God exalts the lowly. God be with you. I pray God that Nicolas Prugner teach sound doctrine as hitherto. Amen."

Clearly as Zwingli took in view the individual combatants as they appeared for the cause of Christ, and the situation and necessities of the single towns and communities in Germany, shaping his instructions, admonitions, and consolations in accordance with their several necessities, equally comprehensive was the glance he threw on the great struggle raging here between the friends of the gospel and the Romanists at Luther's war-cry. Thus, at the close of January 1522, when the Diet, so important in the history of the Reformation in Germany, was held at Nurnberg, and the newly elected Pope, Adrian VI., endeavoured, through his Deputy, Chiericati, to induce the assembly to suppress the preaching of the gospel, he felt himself moved, in free and manly language, to warn the Imperial towns against the designing schemes of the Romanists.

"The lately consecrated Pope of Rome," he wrote to them, "has made to the States of the Empire the following foolish and insane overtures: He resolves, 1st, To reconcile the Emperor and the King of France; 2d, To reform the Church; 3d, To raise an army to march against the Turks; 4th, To suppress Luther and his party. I would lay my views before your wisdom in regard to these proposals, insignificant though I be; yet was the prophet Amos called from his flock, and filled with the Spirit of God to teach Israel. If, in the first place, the Pope really intends to reconcile the Emperor and the French King, how comes it that he applies to the German princes, on whom the matter is not in the least dependent? Secondly, if he intends to reform the Church, why does he not, first of all, begin with his bishops and cardinals, the

more especially as it is clear to every man that all the arrogance and abuses of the clergy have taken their rise in Rome, and have from thence spread themselves over the whole world? If, thirdly, he will, as he says, levy an army against the Turks, then I must confess my wonder at this bold resolve of a man turned of seventy, and my astonishment that he, a priest and vicar of the meek and lowly Jesus, (I will grant him the title for once,) should have the audacity to give such a promise, as if all rested on him, and that, too, at a time when the war (between Spain and France) has not yet been ended, nor these two mighty princes brought to act in unison; I leave out of view here the circumstance entirely, that it were scarcely wise and politic for the greatest and most experienced military captains, not to speak of an unwarlike infirm old priest, to involve the whole Christian commonwealth in a dangerous war with an enemy at once so cunning and brave, so mighty and terrible, as the Turk. These promises which, after the experience we have had, no reasonable man can hold to be sincere, are made by the Romanists, usually, it appears, at the entrance into office of each Pope, with the sole view of drawing the eyes of the world upon them, by exciting delusive hopes, and to serve as a cloak for the accomplishment of their principal object, which is, to destroy Luther. How rapidly the doctrine of the gospel has obtained the ascendant, you, illustrious princes, are well aware. This is hateful to all who have no love to the gospel, and yet they dare not openly attack it. They therefore employ cunning, fraud, and guile, and they endeavour to make evangelical doctrine odious by representing it as Luther's doctrine. What consequences will this opposition have if ye do not boldly meet it? Without doubt this, that many whose spirit is willing but whose flesh is weak, will, as Peter did, deny Christ; that those who are ready to suffer all for Christ will be everywhere under the pretext that they are Lutherans murdered, burned, or cast into chains. And what, O princes, grieves me most of all, you will stain your hands with innocent blood, and not once dream that ye have done it."

"Another consequence is," he continues, "that to please the Romanists you will plunge the whole of Germany into the wildest commotion. You see that 'the kingdom of God suffereth violence, and that the violent take it by force.' All these who take the

kingdom of God by violence will be involved in war with the enemies of the gospel, if the gospel, under Luther's name, is to be made war upon or suppressed. In this manner, the Ultramontane catapult will hurl over upon Germany the elements of confusion, disunion, and anarchy, and what advantage this, princes, will bring to your land every one may readily perceive. But this is the very thing Romanists strive after. I have seen letters to certain people of their party in Germany in which they mention that the Pope will attempt everything to extirpate the Lutheran sect. Nay, the Pope's party are boasting loudly they have found a man who will put things on their old footing. When therefore ye hear that a truce has been concluded between the Emperor and the King of France, know that this truce has not been made either to send an army against the Turks, or for the purpose simply of a short repose for drawing breath, but solely that they may turn their whole strength upon prohibiting the preaching of the gospel under Luther's name. If this succeed with them, then is Rome master not only of the whole of Germany but of the whole of Christendom. Nor should it blind your eyes, princes, that the late popes have begun to name your sons to bishoprics and cardinalships. They did this solely urged by necessity, that they might bind you by your sons, delivered up to them as hostages, and thus hold you in their power; for despise you they certainly will if you do it. Let me just allude farther to the report that the newly elected pope hates the cardinals, and is resolved to create no more than eight of them. Thanks be to God that it has come to this. But why did he light on just this number? If the order of cardinals be so beneficial to the Christian community, and so accordant to the institutions of Christ and the apostles, why is not the number rather increased than diminished? Or, why do they dare to abolish that which God has ordained? But if these office-bearers be not appointed by God, why do the popes squeeze even eight of them out of the poor people? Why do they not rather tear up the roots altogether, that there may be no aftergrowth of these rank weeds? If Adrian, who, forsooth, would pass himself off for a wise and learned man, has really at heart the lately revived doctrine and truth of Christ, then will he forthwith give orders that it be preached without adulteration truly and faithfully, and he will engage to the Christian people to restore all, according to

his ability, as Christ ordained it; then will every one who is worthy of the name of Christian support the good work. But is Luther, this pious and learned man, maltreated, who can be safe? It is even said that Erasmus too has been declared a heretic. If he can be reproached for anything, it is for this, that he has too much spared them, and that he has rather warned them in a gentle and fatherly tone like Eli, than chid them sharply like Elias. If he, which God forbid, has really been declared a heretic, then, without doubt, this stigma awaits the most pious and the most innocent of men.

"In conclusion," says Zwingli in this letter to the Germans, "I desire that no man be so foolish as, for the sake of pleasing the Romanists, who have for so many centuries made Germany their sport and jest, to excite to anarchy and revolt, and that no man be so mean and slavish as to reject the freedom which comes spontaneously offering itself, and thus sink ingloriously into the chains of a deadly thralldom."

The German princes and estates summoned up resolution to present a list of one hundred grievances to the Papal see, and to hand it to the Legate as an answer to his overtures. The Romanists, however, succeeded very soon in rendering this step for the preservation of the dignity and weal of Germany nugatory, and in inducing several princes to interfere by force against the preaching of the gospel. Zwingli, with the indignation natural to his straightforward noble character at this unprincipled and servile conduct, addresses them: "You have published at Nurnburg, in open Diet, a great number of articles presented to the Pope, in which you complain of grievances. Now, tell me, I pray, is it true that you have so many grievances, or is it not? If you have no grievances, why have you made out a list of them? Why, but to lend a helping hand to the Pope, giving by this list of grievances the appearance to the Christian people in general, as though you were willing that grievances should be removed, that they, in the meanwhile, may be appeased and made to bear the compulsory measures of the Pope until affairs were placed on their former basis. If such was your object, it is plain you are very sagacious people. If, however, you were really aggrieved in these particulars you have specified, how comes it that you continue to protect and countenance an

opposite line of conduct, seeing you might so easily get rid of these grievances? For you have the remedy against them in the Word of God, and it is preached boldly, and the good hear it. And the great majority stands on the side of the Word of God, therefore, you have no cause to fear. What stress are you under to help the pope, who has, from time immemorial, pressed so heavily on all Germans? Had they had, in former times, the light of the Divine Word, as it now shines manifestly and clearly, they had rejoiced in nothing so much as in getting quit of the burden of Rome. Perceive you not that all priests, let them wear cowls or not, from the highest to the lowest, have sworn fealty to the pope? Who, except in this case, has ever suffered his subjects to take the oath of allegiance to a foreign and distant potentate, to the hurt and damage of his own kingdom? In consequence of this very oath, gold has gone in cart-loads to Rome from the estates of ecclesiastics. All that the pope has bidden or forbidden to be done, has been with the view of getting money."

Thus Zwingli laboured for the extension and cultivation of evangelical truth in Germany, penetrating with a clear glance the designs of the enemy, embracing with his large heart all the friends of God's Word, and contributing to them, according to the measure of those powers with which God had so richly endowed him, instruction, encouragement, and consolation. Whoever was forced to abandon the field, and flee from Germany, found in Zwingli a friend and protector, and in evangelical Switzerland an asylum and a home. Amid many examples, we shall only mention one of these. Ulrich von Hutten, the gallant knight, who, with chivalric courage, had dared to throw down the gauntlet to the Romanists, and had electrified Germany with the boldness and vigour of his writings, came to find a resting-place in his last days, and a grave for his bones, in Switzerland, after his friend Franz von Sickingen had closed a hero's eye in death under the ruins of his castle of Sandstuhl. Repulsed and persecuted with great bitterness of spirit by his former friend Erasmus, without money, and tormented by a painful and soul-crushing disease, he directed his steps to Zwingli at Zurich. Zwingli gave no ear to the detractions and warnings of Erasmus, but procured to his unfortunate brother in the faith the protection of the Zurich magistracy, and the means to enable him to

visit the mineral baths of Pfæffer, to alleviate his bodily pains. But the healing power of these waters could no longer master an inveterate disease; yet his soul, animated and strengthened by Zwingli's friendship, raised itself once more to the joyful hope "that God would again muster the scattered friends of truth, and humble their adversaries." Through Zwingli's mediation, the bold knight who excused his fiery combative zeal against the Romanists, which had brought him so many sorrows, with the words, "I cannot help God's having burdened me with such a spirit as I have, so that common pain affects me more deeply, and pierces me more to the heart than other men," found at once a peaceful asylum and medical aid with a friend of the Reformer's. This was pastor Schnegg, who resided on the island Ufenau, in the lake of Zurich, and who had devoted his attention to medicine. Under his roof the life-weary warrior expired, at the end of August 1523, and with him German knighthood was borne to the grave. The fiery and impetuous warrior left no wealth behind him, no furniture, no books—nothing but a *pen*.

5. ZWINGLI'S CIRCULAR LETTER TO PETER SEBILLA; HIS ZEAL FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE GOSPEL IN FRANCE

If the knight Ulrich von Hutten came to Zurich like a messenger of death, bringing the intelligence to Zwingli of the decease of German chivalry, the heart of the Reformer was rejoiced in the same year by the visit of a French knight, bearing the welcome tidings that the light of the gospel had begun to dawn on France. Anemund Coctus, a warm friend of the Reformation in France, who laboured for its advancement, undertook a journey to Switzerland and Germany, for the purpose of making the personal acquaintance of Zwingli and Luther. The parson of Grenoble, Peter Sebillà, had expressed to Coctus his resolution to preach the gospel clearly and purely. Coctus accordingly begged of Zwingli at his visit that he would confirm this new evangelist in his purpose, and encourage him to perseverance. Willingly the Reformer undertook the task, and sent him a letter, from which we extract the following: "Who knows not how the pure true doctrine of Christ has, by cunning and

lies, been defaced, darkened, and disfigured, so that there failed little of its total extinction. But the Lord of Sabaoth has still a little, a very little seed left behind, from which, as we hope, a rich harvest will spring up; for the strength of the heavenly seed is like that of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds; but when it grows up, it becomes the greatest of the herbs, and becomes a tree, so that the birds of heaven come and nestle in its branches. The seed, however, is, to speak with Christ, the Word of God, which, when it falls on good land brings forth a most abundant crop. In this Word, the poor human soul, not only tossed to and fro by the storms of life, but distracted also by the snares of the spirits of darkness, finds repose and life. Therefore, you have well done in undertaking to preach this Word purely and with all fidelity, as appears from your letter to Anemundus Truly, flesh and blood have not moved you to this, but your Father in heaven has so drawn you to himself that you believing His Word, desire to bring others also to enjoy the like precious faith. Far be it from you. Do not, however, undertake to put up a building without having first sat down and counted the cost." Zwingli, after having described in strong colours the dangers to which the preacher of the gospel is exposed, continues: "If my words have attained their purpose, then provided you be carnally-minded, I have disposed you rather to seek some hole or corner where you may hide yourself, than to appear before your congregation proclaiming the gospel. But the Spirit of Christ that has moved you to begin, will not allow you to do this, for this Spirit rather urges onward in the prospect of suffering than holds back or terrifies. On, then, noble soldier of the cross, advance into thy France armed with the weapons of Christ, proclaim with the sound of a trumpet the gospel of Christ, however much the Papistical crew may fight against it. Christ has already sounded the war-note of-attack against the Scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites of our day. Who will not gladly arm himself to battle? 'The lion roars,' says the prophet, 'who is not afraid?' Who, in the host of the enemy, will stand when Christ thunders upon them through His servants? Fear and trembling fill their camp. They turn and twist themselves, in doubt and uncertainty what to do. And although, through the princes they have gained over to their side, they should slaughter the flock of Christ, yet they

themselves are cowering with fear lest an awful storm break loose upon their heads; or when they attempt to combat with the Scripture, the words are congealed in their mouth, in the consciousness that they do violence to, and wrest the Holy Word of God. Why do we not break forth in a storming attack against the cowards, in confidence upon the protection of the Divine Word? God will destroy anti-Christ by the breath of His mouth. Christ is for us, who then can be against us? Although we be but weak vessels, yet none can break us as long as the Lord is on our side; according to His promise, 'I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.' Why linger, then? Ours is the victory. Heaven and earth shall sooner pass away than that the Word of God shall deceive us. Above all, however, it is needful, if you will rejoice in the victory, to deny yourself and die daily. But such you cannot do of your own strength, therefore you must take your refuge to the alone mercy of God, and pray with your whole heart that He would be pleased to direct your steps, to illuminate your soul, and to strengthen your heart. Then the grace of God will give you sagacity to choose the best ways and the best means, and strength to overcome all. You see, my Christian brother, what advances the gospel has made in Germany in a short time, which will be the case with you too, if you call upon God to grant success. And He rejoices when we call upon Him, for He is our friend, and delights himself in our souls. Farewell, set your confidence upon the Lord, and upon the might of His strength, which will preserve you unscathed in every trial."

This soul-stirring address of Zwingli's was not without its due effect, and the more so, as Anemundus Coctus caused it to be printed. The gospel-message winged its way to the heart of France with the force and the rapidity of lightning. But the Lord had appointed His servants in this land, above all others, to attest the reality of their faith by the baptism of suffering; from the very first the confessors of the gospel were persecuted by the enemies of it with fire and sword. "I could name a great people," Zwingli wrote in reference to the French, "from which more than any other the gospel has been forcibly excluded, that it reach them neither by word of mouth nor in writing. But God has so wrought that this same land is well-informed in respect of His Word, and stands in a good relation towards God, although they

dare not make any outward confession." A regard to this condition of the people, and the prayers of his evangelical friends in France, induced Zwingli to dedicate his principal work, "Commentary upon the True and False Religions," to Francis I., King of France, and to impress on his heart with all freedom of spirit the duty of allowing the gospel to be preached in his dominions. There seemed reason to hope that this step might not be fruitless, the sister of the king, Margaretha, afterwards Queen of Navarre, being a decided friend of the gospel, and the mother of the king for a time making a profession of favouring it. But the heart of the king remained closed against its divine influences, and both before and after his arm was heavy upon the faithful in this land, so that there remained for them no other choice but either to conceal the jewel of faith from the eyes of the world, or to abandon their home, that is, if they would escape bonds, the dungeon, or a martyr's death.

6. ZWINGLI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AUGUSTINE MONK OF COMO; HIS MEASURES FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE GOSPEL IN ITALY.

The state of the friends of the gospel in Italy was not a more cheering one, although here, too, an ardent longing for evangelical freedom manifested itself. We shall only refer here to a single case in the spiritual movement which at this time took place in Italy. It will, on the one hand, serve to shew in what esteem Zwingli there stood, and, on the other hand, it will afford us a view of the progress and issue of the Reformation in this benighted country. In Como, an Augustine monk, Egidius a Porta, had been enlightened by the reading of Zwingli's writings in regard to the unprofitableness of monkery and outward works, so that, like Saul on the way to Damascus, he recognised himself suddenly with horror as a persecutor of Christ. "If I cannot be a Paul in all things," he writes to Zwingli, "be thou, at least, an Ananias, to guide my erring footsteps upon the path of peace. Fourteen years ago, I let myself be led by what I, in my ignorance at that time, considered to be pious zeal, to withdraw from the guardianship of my parents and turn Augustine monk, think-

ing, with the Pelagians, to attain salvation through works. Thus I have taken much trouble not to *be* pious and learned, but to *be esteemed* pious and learned; and entangled in this error, I held, O shame, for seven years, the office of a preacher of the gospel. All Christian knowledge has failed me, inasmuch as I attributed nothing to faith and all to good works. With boldness and confidence I taught my people to trust to these, and who can reckon up the amount of poisonous error that I have spread over the field of the Lord? In truth, I can say, I have persecuted the Church of Christ. But the Lord, according to his goodness, would not that his servant should perish for ever; he has shaken me thoroughly, and cast me to the ground. The light of my own eyes which I trusted is quenched, my lips are dumb till I have begun to cry hoarsely: Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? At length the consoling message came to my heart; go to Huldreich Zwingli, he will teach thee what thou oughtest to do. O glorious message, that filled my soul with unspeakable peace. Thou, or much more, God, through thee, will deliver my soul out of the snare of the hunters."

Zwingli put his evangelical friends in Como in mind that, besides working out their own salvation, it was their duty to labour for the extension of gospel truth throughout their native land, and he called upon Egidius a Porta, especially, to translate the New Testament into Italian, which he would get printed for him in Zurich. A Porta followed with Christian submission the advice of his revered friend. "I trust in God," says he, "that this tree," speaking of himself, "planted so far from the refreshing streams, will in time bear fruit." He laments bitterly the interruption his work experienced by the thousand petty duties he had to perform in obedience to his monkish vows. At length he begs and conjures Zwingli, in the name of his fellow-brethren, to write to the superintendent of their order, and establish, by passages from Holy Writ, how it was the will of God that His Word should be purely and fully preached, and that He is in the highest degree indignant when it is adulterated, and human conceits passed current as the will of God. Thus brightly burned in this faithful bosom an ardent desire for Christian knowledge and evangelical freedom, which he wished to obtain also for his unhappy countrymen, who groaned under a severe oppression,

temporal and spiritual. But suddenly the letters stopped. The monk disappeared, and with him the begun translation of the New Testament. We can scarcely go wrong in supposing that the arm of avenging Rome reached him as it did many others, and threw him into some dark dungeon, there to atone for his pure and ardent love to the faith; for thus Rome was wont to extinguish the flame of the Reformation when it burst forth brightly for a moment in different quarters in Italy.

We have thus seen that Zwingli, at the same time that he carried the great work of the Reformation into practical accomplishment at Zurich, advanced it in the whole of Switzerland, France, and Italy, according to the measure of the grace given him by God. As the mountains of his native country, illuminated by God's sun, and bathed by the dew of heaven, stand great and majestic under the azure canopy, thus stood this Christian hero in the full blaze of Divine truth, and while he himself drew out of the fulness of God, and grace for grace, he sent, by his instructions, his consolations, his admonitions, the refreshing streams of God's salvation to all the neighbouring lands. Yet will the merit of his labours be seen in a stronger light, when we consider the obstacles and the opposition which the Reformer had to encounter in his great and glorious work.

SIXTH SECTION.

REACTIONARY MEASURES OF THE PAPAL PARTY FOR CHECKING AND SUPPRESSING THE REFORMATION.

“Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me.”—JOHN xvi. 2, 3.

1. THE OVERTURES OF THE POPE AND THE INTRIGUES OF FABER ARE ALIKE UNABLE TO SHAKE ZWINGLI'S FAITH.

THE more we consider the precipitation with which Rome fulminated her damning edicts against the heralds of evangelical truth, which were often carried into execution by fire and sword, the more must we feel astonished and surprised at the advances which the popes more than once made towards Zwingli. He had already gained a decided victory over Faber and the Romanists. In the Religious Disputation he had, in very clear and unmistakable language, declared his secession from the Pope. He had already professed his faith in the gospel, when the Roman Legate, Ennius, appeared in Zurich, with a letter from Pope Adrian IV., addressed to Zwingli, from which we extract the following: “Although it is commanded to our Nuntius, to treat, in regard to our affairs, with all your people openly and in common, yet have we commissioned our said Nuntius, inasmuch as we have a more exact knowledge of your distinguished merits, and repose an especial confidence in your obedience, to deliver to you this our letter personally, and to testify to you our favourable disposition. We exhort you also to give all credence to the said Nuntius, and with the like disposition in which we are disposed to consult your honour and advantage, to labour in the affairs of us and the apostolical chair, whereby you will have reason to rejoice in our very peculiar favour and regard.” What were the overtures made to the Reformer we learn from the following statements made by himself and Dr. Francis Zingg. In the

Exposition of the 37th Article of his Propositions, Zwingli writes on this subject (in the summer of 1523): "A few days ago I have received, both by letter and by word of mouth, great promises from the Pope, which I have answered as God will, in a Christian and unmoved frame of mind. It is, however, no matter of doubt that I could attain to a greatness such as not every one could reach to, if the poverty of Christ were not dearer to me than the worldly pomp of the papists." To his teacher and friend, Thomas Wyttenbach, he wrote, on the 15th June 1523, in reference to the same subject: "God grant the Swiss people a sense to understand and love His Word, for the Pope of Rome is seeking anew to press his yoke upon them. To me, too, he has sent a brief, under the fisherman's ring,* with brilliant promises; but I despatched the messenger with an answer according to his merits, telling him in plain language, that I believed the Pope to be anti-Christ." To attain his object with reference to Zwingli more surely, the Pope had also written to his friend, Dr. Francis Zingg of Einsiedeln, and begged him to gain the Reformer for Rome by the like prospects already opened up to him by Ennius. Zingg being afterwards asked by Myconius what he was empowered to offer Zwingli, replied, "*all but the papal chair.*" No ecclesiastical distinction would have been too brilliant, no living too lucrative, no sum of money too large, had Zwingli consented for such a price to become, instead of a disciple of Christ, a disciple of the Pope. Rome was made to experience with deep shame that the crown of thorns and the cross of Christ are dearer to the believer than all the glory and riches of a depraved church. None felt more painfully all the shame of this refusal than the General-Vicar Faber. For gold and posts of honour he had himself travelled to Rome. He had, at the feet of the Pope, for a miserable Judas-reward, belied his better conviction, and betrayed his Saviour. Now he had to look on the friend of his youth, who had already, in a manner so brilliant, defeated him in the Religious Disputation, and dealt at the same time the severest wounds on the Romish Church, despising, with a Christian magnanimity, all those great offers—offers, too, which, so to say, were brought to his very door at Zurich and laid at his feet. This double discomfiture scorched as with a flame his soul within him,

* The papal seal, on which Peter is represented as a fisherman.

and he now called into play every engine of calumny and of secret intrigue, that he might, if possible, annihilate Zwingli. "I have, as truly as that Christ is gracious," so wrote Ambrosius Blaarer on this subject to Zwingli, "compassion with the miserable man, and the more so the less that he knows his own wretchedness. We will pray that he obtain a new heart, that for the future he may be ashamed to have recourse to such desperate expedients." The Legate Ennius, on receiving this repulse to the papal overtures, went straight to Faber at Constance, and there the plan was discussed by these minions of Rome for annihilating the Reformer, and destroying his work. Zwingli, informed from different quarters of the threatening danger, wrote to his friend, Werner Steiner, in Zug: "I am told that Faber and the papal Legate, Ennius, design to attack me in some dangerous manner. Had I, however, at any time feared secret attacks, I should never have formed so strong a resolution as I have done to preach the gospel. It is my wish that my adversaries come forward openly, they will then see how mightily Christ protects me." For the execution of their nefarious designs, the inhabitants of the five cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug, appeared to be the fittest instruments. Here an ignorant and corrupt clergy wielded a fatal power over the conscience, while adroit and reckless demagogues, who in foreign military service had gained themselves riches and standing at the cost of their sacrificed country, guided with violence or cunning according to the caprice or exigencies of the moment the Councils and the communities. Freiburg in Uechtland and Wallis formed a close league with all these papal cantons. Berne hovered between the papacy and the gospel, a vacillation which arose from the circumstance that a large part of the nobility were averse to evangelical preaching because of its forbidding foreign service. This party, hostile to the Reformer, and which, in the Confederate Diet, formed an overwhelming majority, was to be employed by Faber and the Romish Legate for suppressing Zwingli and his work. Already had the resolution been come to under this influence at a Diet in Berne to take the Reformer prisoner wherever he could be met with out of Zurich. What his fate would have been, a carnival sport enacted at Lucerne, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, shews. A man of straw, with Zwingli's

name affixed to it, was dragged to the place of public execution, and there burned as a heretic. Some inhabitants of Zurich, who happened to be in Lucerne at the time, were forced to witness the malicious spectacle. Zwingli, on hearing of this display of spite, wrote to his friends, Zimmermann and Kirchmeier, in Lucerne: "I rejoice that I have been thought worthy among you to suffer shame for the name of Christ. I have, thank God, improbable as it may seem, borne no insult with greater equanimity than this. Your hope must ever grow more and more that Christ will not forsake His own."

2. THE PAPISTICALLY DISPOSED MAJORITY OF THE DIET GIVES THE SIGNAL FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY. NICOLAS HOTTINGER IS IMPRISONED AND EXECUTED; CECHELI'S IMPRISONMENT; HANS WIETH AND HIS SONS; BURKHARD RUETIMANN; ZURICH'S DANGEROUS STATE.

There was great need for such a confidence, because the war-party in the papal cantons, stirred up by Faber and the Romish legate, began now to take strong measures against the preaching of the gospel. On the 26th January 1524, a series of resolutions were passed at a Diet held in Lucerne, and published in nineteen articles, having for their object the maintenance of the Papacy, and the suppression of evangelical truth. They contained, amongst others, the following decrees: "All the ancient and praiseworthy rites and customs of the Christian Church, shall continue to be observed as formerly by clergy and laymen." "None shall speak or dispute in the taverns, or over wine, upon the Lutheran or new doctrines." "Every one, whoever he be, man or woman, young or old, is called upon, in virtue of his oath, wherever he sees one or other of the articles infringed upon, to testify the same to our lords the governors and their officers." When these articles, which all the states, with the exception of Zurich, accepted, came to be published throughout the country, "the papists and their partizans," as Bullinger writes, "rejoiced, but true believers lamented." The signal for persecution of the evangelicals was here given by the highest civil authority in the land, "the Diet," and it was followed even to blood. The terri-

tory of the so-called "Common Lordships,"* was the principal theatre on which it displayed itself. While the Zurich governors here forwarded the Reformation, those of the papal cantons, according to their instructions, sought in every way possible to suppress it. The first victim of Roman persecution was the shoemaker, Nicolas Hottinger of Zurich, whom we have mentioned above as a zealous but somewhat rash and impetuous friend of the Reformation. Banished for two years from Zurich for his autocratic removal of the crucifix from Stadelhofen, he sojourned during this period in the neighbouring county of Baden. Following his trade here, he neglected no opportunity of giving expression to his religious convictions. In Zuzach he had once said in the "Angel" inn: "The Romish priests interpret Scripture falsely, and do not perform the mass according to the institution of Christ. We must place our consolation and hope alone in God, and in none else." On one of his fellow-shoemakers, John Schuetz of Schneisingen, asking him, "What is't with the new faith which the Zurich preachers are bringing in?" he replied, "They preach nothing but the pure Word of God, and the true gospel of salvation. Above all, they teach and prove by Holy Scripture that Christ died once for all for all believers, that He has by this one sacrifice cleansed them from all sin, and redeemed them, and that consequently the mass is a sin and a lie." Speeches like these were conveyed to the ears of the popish-minded governor in Baden, Fleckenstein of Lucerne, who forthwith gave the order to imprison the zealous advocate of the gospel. Suddenly Hottinger, at the end of February 1524, was seized in Coblenz, when on a journey connected with his calling, and carried prisoner, first of all to Baden, and afterwards to Lucerne. Upon his steadfast confession of his faith, Fleckenstein cried to him: "Your doings, sir, will be brought before a court where you will get a sentence according to your merits." On which Hottinger replied: "I commit my case to God, and I pray to Him, through

* Under "Common Lordships" are to be understood those Swiss provinces which, from the circumstance of their having been acquired by conquest, were placed under the jurisdiction of several cantons, and ruled alternately by governors appointed by them. Thus Zurich divided the rule with the papal cantons, and in part with Berne, over the former county of Baden, the free domain on the Aargau, Reussthal, Thurgau, Rheinthal, Sarganserland, and the four Italian bailiwicks in the present canton of Tessin.

Jesus Christ, that He may graciously preserve me in His truth till death." In Lucerne he was, notwithstanding the intervention of his numerous and influential friends, as well as of the government of Zurich, condemned to death by the deputies of the twelve places." On the announcement of the sentence, he began to speak of God and the redemption through Christ Jesus, when the amman, Troger of Uri, angrily interrupted him: "We are here to judge, and not to listen to sermons. There is no use of talk; out with him." Hottinger said: "Let it be done to me according to the will of God, and may He forgive their sins to all them who are against me, and who seek my death." A monk held up a crucifix to his mouth. He put it aside with the remark, "The sufferings of Christ must be engraven on the heart by faith. Not the wooden image on the cross, but His sufferings and death, have obtained for us salvation." An immense multitude of people accompanied him to the place of execution, many of whom were so touched by the words and demeanour of the martyr, that they wept loudly. "The Almighty God," said Hottinger, turning to the people, "grant you His grace, that you may come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved." Then looking straight up to heaven, he said, with a loud voice: "I commend my soul into Thy hands, O my Lord and my Redeemer Jesus Christ; have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit." Having thus spoken, he bowed his head with patient resignation to the stroke of death.

While the impression of this deed of blood, which gave a lamentable proof of the cruel severity with which the papal cantons were prepared to suppress the Reformation, was yet fresh, there came a deputation from "the twelve places" to Zurich, to move this state to depose Zwingli, and to desist from the work they had commenced. The Council of Zurich answered in writing to this proposal: "We will do in all respects," they say, among other things, "as far as in us lies according to the terms of the Charter, as becomes true and loyal Confederates. But in what concerns the Word of God and the salvation of our souls and our conscience, in that we shall not yield." In the very same year, 1524, a Diet was held at Zug, from which Zurich was excluded, in which a letter from the Pope was read to the delegates, calling upon them to extirpate heresy within the

bounds of the Confederacy. A fresh deputation was despatched to Zurich, who intimated to the Council of this state: "They were forthwith to desist from the begun Reformation, and not, for the sake of two or three persons, to throw the whole Confederacy into a state of confusion and dissension." If they would not agree to this, then the cantons remaining true to the faith of their fathers should forthwith proceed to imprison the adherents of the new faith wherever they found them, and punish them in property and person, nor would they suffer the Zurich deputies to take their seats with them in the Diet. Zurich, though not a little dismayed at these menaces, returned the firm and dignified answer: "In matters of faith we shall rule ourselves by the Word of God. If some cantons refuse to sit with us in the Diet, we have the unshaken confidence that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose name the Confederacy was founded, and in whom alone we trust, will not abandon us, and that we at last, through grace, will be allowed to *sit with Him*."

The joyous spirit of faith which animated Zwingli was also shared by the community of Zurich, and pervaded the councils in their deliberations and resolutions. But on the other hand, louder, and still more loud, sounded the threatenings of the Papists, like the murmurs of the distant thunder in the approaching storm. In the "Common Lordships," in particular, the evangelical party were placed in imminent danger of imprisonment, and of suffering the utmost for the faith, during those periods when they came to be ruled by papistically disposed governors. Under such circumstances it was that the Evangelicals, on hearing that the menaces of the Romanists were on the point of being carried into execution, bound themselves to lend each other aid, which was also rendered in some communities of Thurgau, where the Swiss governor Amberg, who had formerly made a hypocritical profession of a leaning to evangelical doctrine, now expressed openly, and with menaces, his hatred against it. Suddenly, and at a hint communicated to him by the Diet in Zug, he caused Zwingli's friend, Parson Œchslin of Burg, by Stein, upon the Rhine, to be surprised in the night of the 7th July 1524, bound and carried prisoner to Frauenfeld. On the cry of help being raised, his parishioners hasten intrepidly to the rescue of their beloved pastor; but it is too late. The watch of

Burg discharge their signal-guns, and the alarm-bells are ringing through the whole valley, summoning the inhabitants to a general levy. With the men of Stammheim came the under-governor Hans Wirth and his two sons, Adrian and John, two evangelical ministers full of faith and ardent zeal for pure doctrine, while among the men of Nussbaumen appeared the under-governor there, Burkhard Ruetimann. The two under governors were named leaders of the whole body that had assembled in a general levy to free their beloved pastor. Arrived at the right bank of the Thur, they were obliged to halt, the ferry-boat having been removed. The leaders employed this delay to bring the excited multitude into order, which was the more necessary, for unhappily, as usually happens in popular tumults, some bad characters had mixed themselves among them. From this place a deputation was despatched to the governor at Frauenfeld, with the request that he would liberate the imprisoned pastor against bail. Some were even for rescuing him by violence. "Pastor Echslin," said under-governor Wirth, "is so dear and worthy a man, that I would willingly give all I have, nay, the heart in my body, for him." Contrary to custom, and to all justice, the governor Amberg refused to accept bail, and to set free the prisoner. In the meantime the enraged mob had turned their attention to the near-lying and rich Carthusian monastery of Ittingen, whose prior was said to have been in the habit of stirring up the governor to measures of severity against the evangelicals. The doors of the cloister were burst open, and the mob poured itself, hungry and thirsty, and in part desirous of plunder, over the church, cloister, cellar, and store-houses. In vain were the entreaties and exhortations of under-governor Wirth and his sons, as well as of Ruetimann. With the better part of the people these departed, after they had first slaked their thirst at the cloister well. After their departure a fire broke out in the chambers of the cloister, which burned this rich monastery to the ground. According to report an angry father, whose son had been torn by a boar belonging to the cloister, set fire to it.

The smoking embers of the Carthusian monastery gave to the hatred of the papal cantons against the evangelicals a fresh stimulus, and inflamed them to the fiercest hostility. Zurich,

indeed, as soon as it heard of the riot, commanded all its subjects who had taken part in it to return home. It also promised to institute a strict and impartial investigation into the whole affair. The Diet was adjourned by the papal cantons to Beckenried. A bloody revenge was called for. The implicated communities, nay, Zurich itself, were threatened with war, and it was sworn to extirpate the heretical doctrine with fire and sword.

The under-governor Wirth and his sons, who had been long objects of hatred on account of their evangelical opinions, as also Burkhard Ruetimann were accused, if not of having themselves set fire to the monastery, at least of having instigated to it. "If any one be guilty," said the Zurich Council, "let him be punished, but legally, and not by violence." To prevent farther mischief, this state resolved to cause those who were named as guilty by the incensed cantons to be arrested. Wirth and his sons were advised by their friends to flee till the storm had subsided. "I trust in God, and will await the bailiffs," said the elder Wirth. "Never have the friends of God been overcome by his enemies," preached Adrian his son. When the armed myrmidons of the law came to take them, under-governor Wirth said: "My lords of Zurich might have spared themselves this trouble and cost; for had they sent a child to me I had gone with it." The three Wirths, and the under-governor Ruetimann of Nussbaumen, were brought to Zurich, where, during three weeks, they were closely interrogated, without anything being discovered in their conduct worthy of punishment. The result of the trial, however, by no means satisfied the other places, which sat with Zurich in the Thurgau court of justice. They required the deportation of the prisoners to Baden, that the investigation might be conducted by all the cantons in common. Zurich would not consent to this, for the reason that the right of the lower jurisdiction belonged to this state alone, while the prisoners, according to the result of the examination, had committed no crime which could make them amenable to the higher jurisdiction. "Breaking of the peace and sacrilege are crimes," said the papists, "which come under the jurisdiction of the higher courts." "If you will not deliver up the prisoners, we shall fetch them by force. We request a decisive answer, Yes or No." In Zurich,

the opinions as to what ought to be done, were divided; Zwingli held that the legal right should be defended, and the extradition refused; others were of the mind that to prevent greater evils, the request should be complied with. A middle course was at length adopted. It was resolved to deliver up the prisoners to Baden, on condition that they should be tried there only for the incendiarism at Ittingen, and not for matters of faith or doctrine. The condition, which was accepted by the delegates of the twelve places, was afterwards, contrary to plighted faith, shamefully violated.

The prisoners, placed in the centre of the delegates of the Council and a company of armed men, were marched off to Baden, August 1524, to the great distress of many of the inhabitants of Zurich. "Alas! alas, what a miserable setting out that was," cries Bernhard Weiss, referring to their departure. Zwingli preached,—God will call us to account for this; and exhorted the people earnestly to pray to God that He would have mercy on the poor prisoners, comfort them, and strengthen them in the true faith. On their being conducted at Baden through the press of the gaping multitude, the elder Wirth said to his sons: "Behold, dear sons, there is now accomplished in us what the apostle Paul says, 1 Cor. iv. 9, 'We are set forth, as it were, appointed to death;' for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men." The governor Amberg, the author of their misfortunes, was among the spectators. Wirth stretched out his hand towards him, and prayed him not to be so furious, for there is a God in heaven who sees all things. On the following day they were subjected to a searching interrogation. Their innocence in regard to the plundering and burning of Ittingen, was placed in the clearest light by this examination, as well as by the depositions of witnesses, especially by a letter from the prior of the monastery. But the judges, who were resolved to have their victims executed as criminals, were not satisfied with this result. They were now examined upon the abolition of the mass and images. On this, the deputy from Zurich arose and said: "This is contrary to the agreement." "We know what we are about," rejoined the deputy from Lucerne, with insolence, "and act according to orders." "In that case, we decline to sit with you," said the Zurich deputies, "and shall, without delay, make report of

this matter to our superiors." The victims of a bitter hostility to the gospel were now, with coarse insults, put to the rack, in order to extract from them the confession of a capital crime. Wirth, the father, was exposed to the torture from morning till noon; his son John from twelve till two o'clock. Who has taught you heretical doctrine? Zwingli or who else? the latter was asked. On his crying out in an agony of pain, "O merciful eternal God, help and comfort me," one of his judges called out to him, "Where is your Christ now? Let your Christ help you now." On at length Adrian's being brought in, the Bernese Sebastian von Stein said to him: "Misterkin,* tell us the truth; if you don't, I swear by my knighthood, which I won where God himself suffered, that we shall open your veins one after the other. You have waylaid your old father with this damnable heretical doctrine, and are about to be the death of him, for we shall do our utmost to tear up this heresy by the roots." On this, Adrian begged they would not rage and storm so, but have mercy, and hear the truth quietly. "Misterkin," rejoined von Stein, "The apostles were not like you, but desired to die with joy." On his being elevated by the rack-rope, this same Bernese mockingly said to him again: "Misterkin, this is the nuptial gift we present you with for your new housewife."† Ruetimann's trial was of shorter duration, and he was this time spared the torture. The deputies then rode off to their several homes, while their mishandled victims were left to pine in jail till the 28th of September. On this day they were brought to a public trial, after they had been repeatedly questioned by torture. The wife of the elder Wirth, Anna Keller, had come with the Council's speaker, Escher, from Zurich, to move the judges to compassion and mercy for her husband and sons. On their waiting upon Hieronymus Stocker of Zug for this purpose, and on Escher's reminding him of Wirth's upright and honourable character, Stocker said: "Ay, it is even as you say, dear Escher; I have been twice governor in Thurgau, and a more honest faithful servant than Wirth I have never met with; in joy or in sorrow, his house and heart were open to all; the stranger and

* Misterkin," as much as my little priest; for in Roman Catholic Switzerland the priest is usually called Mister (Herr.)

† Adrian had shortly before married a nun.

the fellow-countryman both found in him the man of honour. Therefore, if he had stolen or murdered, I would have helped to spare him; but he has burned the image of the holy Anna, Christ's grandmother; therefore he must die without mercy." "God forbid," rejoined Escher, "that a pious man, who has burned nothing but wooden images, should find less grace than a thief or a murderer. This will have a bad ending." The governor Wirth, his son John, and Burkhard Ruetimann, were condemned to death; Adrian was spared to the entreaties of his mother. On the sentences being made known to the prisoners in the tower, the elder Wirth said to his son Adrian, who had been pardoned: "My son, since God spares you in life, see to it that neither yourself nor any friend of ours take it in hand to revenge our innocent deaths. God in heaven saith, 'Vengeance is mine.' He in His own time avenges all innocent blood shed. He will grant us His grace, and strengthen us in true faith till death." As Adrian in deep distress wept bitterly, his brother John said to him: "Dear brother, you know that we have faithfully preached the Word of God; but where the Word of God is there is always the cross. Therefore leave off weeping and be comforted. I praise God that He has held me worthy of this day to suffer and to die for His Word. His name be praised eternally. His will be done." In conclusion, they besought Adrian to comfort those near and dear to them, since they were led to death not for any crime but for the cause of God. A great crowd of people pressed round them as they were conducted from the prison to the front of the Town-Hall, where the confessions made by them at the trial, and the sentence of death, were read over. The former were so disfigured, and in part falsified, that governor Wirth could not resist expressing his indignation at this dishonest proceeding. But his son John, his companion in condemnation, said: "Not so, dear father, let it pass. The Lord in heaven knows who we are, and how all has been gone about. Anti-Christ must always trick himself out with lies and deception. One day the great judgment will be held, when dark and secret falsehood, as well as the bright truth, will equally stand in light. It is ours now to overcome with faith and patience."

They were then handed over to the officers of justice, and led to the place of execution. As they passed by the chapel of St.

Joseph, the ecclesiastic who accompanied them, exhorted governor Wirth to kneel down and pray to the saints. His son John answered the priest: "Why should we kneel before wood and stone? God in heaven is alone to be called on and worshipped. To Him do you also turn." And turning to his father, he continued: "Dear father, remain steadfast, you know there is only one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus." "Certainly, my son," returned the old man, "and with His preserving grace I will remain true to Him till death." On their approaching the place of execution, the son took leave of the father in the following words: "Dearest father, from this time forward you are no longer my father nor I your son, but we are brothers in Jesus Christ, our Lord, for whose name's sake we are now about to suffer death. And if God will, we shall this day come to Him, who is the Father of us all, and shall possess with Him, and all the saints, everlasting rest, joy, and bliss. Therefore, dear brother in Christ, be of good cheer, commit yourself to the Lord, and let Him reign." "Amen," said the father, "the Almighty bless thee, dear son and brother in Christ. To Him be glory, praise, and thanks, for ever and ever." The three victims of persecution for the faith knelt down one after the other, "in the name of Jesus," and were beheaded. The Christian end of these men made a deep and sad impression on the people, who saw, with indignation, on their naked bodies the marks of the cruel treatment they had experienced on their trial. The two hoary-headed martyrs left behind them sixty-seven children and grandchildren. Their property at first was confiscated to the government, but at the intercession of Basle, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, this resolution was so far modified, that the widow of the governor Wirth obtained her deceased husband's property, after paying eight hundred florins costs, and twelve gold crowns to the executioner. Adrian Wirth received the appointment at a later period to a country charge in the canton of Zurich, where for forty years he laboured with distinguished success. The imprisoned Oechsli, after being dragged from prison to prison, and shamefully maltreated, at length received his liberty, and was chosen by Zurich to a country charge.

The quarrel between Zurich and the other cantons, on account of the affair at Ittinger, lasted for three years, during which time

Zwingli set forward the Reformation-work in Zurich, without letting himself be interrupted by these proceedings, deep as the interest was which he took in them. The unintermittedly continued efforts to establish and disseminate evangelical doctrine, meanwhile, incensed its adversaries to the highest pitch. Often were they on the point, during the affair of Ittingen, of levying war on Zurich, and thus at one stroke suppressing Zwingli and his doctrine. The danger from this quarter was the greater, because in Zurich itself there were people to be found in all ranks, but more especially in the ranks of the nobility, who were hostile to the Reformation, and devoted to the interests of the papacy. An official examination entered into, gives the following examples of the state of feeling:—The butcher Steinbruechel had openly avowed: "I have in my house two spears, and if the Confederates appear before the town, neither one nor other shall be used against them; on the contrary, I shall go over to them and join them." On the occasion of a quarrel between the evangelically and the papally disposed members of a family, the grandfather, who adhered to the old doctrines, said: "If the men of Baden come hither, I'll give a hand to the delivering up of Zwingli, for he has caused mischief enough. Why does not some one hide in a corner, take him at unawares, and knock the fellow's brains out with an axe." These, although isolated cases, show what sort of reception the threatenings of the papal cantons found in various quarters in Zurich. But the murmurs of the nobility were deeper; for by the prohibition of foreign mercenary-military service, pay, and other large sums of money from foreign princes went out of their hands; and by the dissolutions and revolutions that had taken place in the foundations and cloisters, they were deprived of schools and nurseries for their children.

3. FABER EMPLOYS THE ILL-HUMOUR OF THE SWISS PAPAL PARTY AT THE DEFEAT OF PAVIA TO FORM A CLOSER ALLIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR. BADEN'S RELIGIOUS DISPUTATION; THOMAS MÜNNER; THE INSULTS OFFERED TO THE ZURICHERS. THE FORMAL ALLIANCE OF THE PAPAL CANTONS WITH AUSTRIA.

The warlike ardour of the enemies of the Reformation was cooled*

in an important degree by the following event, and Zurich, in the meantime, was secured against a surprise. In the battle of Pavia, the Imperial army had totally defeated the French, led by the king in person, who was made a prisoner in the battle. A numerous body of Swiss from the papal cantons had joined the French army. The corpses of from five to six thousand Swiss covered the bloody battle-field; five thousand, who were taken prisoners, but who were soon afterwards released, returned to their homes without arms and in rags, while many, exhausted with disease and hunger, died by the way. Everywhere the cries of widows and orphans resounded, lamenting the loss of husband or father, and deep were the curses uttered against the pensions from the foreign princes which had spread such desolation over the land. Under the influence of these calamitous events many called to mind Zwingli's warning words, and reflected how different it would have been had his advice been followed; Zurich was for the moment more envied than hated. Zwingli, with all the earnestness, and in the spirit of one of the old prophets, spoke on the Sunday after St. Fridolin, of the olden times of the Confederacy, when, with poverty and simplicity of manners, piety, brotherly love, and courage, flourished. "Now," said he, "by the destructive influences of foreign mercenary campaigns, the country is brought to the verge of ruin, and calamity gathers on calamity." He seriously exhorted the nation to earnest prayer that God would grant them a right understanding to know the truth, and to do what was well-pleasing in His sight.

The benefits to the Reformation from this turn in the public mind of Switzerland, which extended itself even to Lucerne and the mountain-cantons, Faber and his party, however, knew to disappoint, and they succeeded in diverting the course of events to the advantage of their own cause. In his struggle after ecclesiastical honours this zealous defender of the papacy had succeeded in arriving at the dignity of a spiritual counsellor of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles the Fifth. In this position he laboured to bring the enemies of the Reformation in Switzerland into closer alliance with the Austro-Spanish Imperial house, which formed the central point of influence for the party for the whole of Europe. In these labours he

- was greatly assisted by the ill-feeling created against France by

the unhappy battle of Pavia. From this time forward the threads to all important undertakings against the Reformation in Switzerland as well as in other countries of Europe were attached and set in motion by the Austro-Spanish Imperial house, which the Pope well knew to draw ever closer to himself. In all these operations, Faber, as long as he lived, played a very important part. The great influence he wielded appears from the following undertaking, which he meditated and set in motion against Zwingli and the Reformation. The victories which the Reformer gained by the Religious Disputation, and the repeated challenge of the Zurichers, "prove it to us by the Word of God, then we shall follow you, and abstain from the Reformation," made a very painful impression upon the bishops, prelates, and the whole papal clergy. They deliberated, therefore, as Bullinger mentions, day and night, how they might dam up, or yet better, how they might dry up, at its source, the stream that threatened to lay level with the ground the stately building of their power and magnificence. The more sagacious were well aware that the Reformation could not be suppressed by measures of violence or persecution, and that it must be conquered by those very weapons through which it had risen to its present power and ascendancy. Besides, their people generally expressed great dissatisfaction that the clergy were not better able to defend the old doctrines. A Religious Disputation, in which the popish party might be made secure of victory, through the arrangements adopted, and the selection of the judges to decide upon the result, appeared to be the best means of saving the "old Church." Such a discussion which, according to their views, could only be held in some papistically inclined place, was, at the same time, to be made a snare for entrapping Zwingli into the power of his enemies. They were then to lose no time in at once condemning and burning him as a heretic.

In such a plan the Romanists conceived they had found, after long search, the means of fettering by human institutions the free preaching of the gospel, and of putting the hated Reformer out of the way by the semblance of judicial procedure. To this work of darkness, Dr. John Eck, vice-chancellor of the High School of Ingolstadt, then the most celebrated champion of the papacy, at the instigation of Faber, the friend of his own and of

Zwingli's studies, was to lend the arms of his extraordinary learning and great volubility of speech. Already he had, not without glory, disputed with Luther and Carlstadt at Leipzig, 1519, from 27th June till 13th July, and had, for his bearing on this occasion, been richly rewarded and honoured by the Pope, so that this opportunity of gaining fresh glory and money was by no means disagreeable to him; "for," as Bullinger says, "he loved, liked Balaam, the wages of unrighteousness." The higher clergy in Suabia and in Switzerland, as also the Suabian league, and the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, raised, by taxation, vast sums of money. With these Eck was to be handsomely paid. At the same time, the leaders of the Romanists in Switzerland, well accustomed to being bribed,* (Bullinger) were won over to the undertaking. In order to remove any scruples which might be raised in any quarter by the Swiss papal party against the Disputation, the Bishop of Constance as well as the Archduke Ferdinand and the Suabian league wrote special letters to the Diet, strongly advising its appointment. Such preparations having been made, Dr. Eck despatched an address in writing to the assembled Confederate deputies in Baden. In this document, after praising them for their faithful perseverance in the old faith, he exhorts them, as honourable, laudable, consistent Christians, not to let themselves be turned aside from their good and Christian undertaking, nor to be shaken by Zwingli's ensnaring and blasphemous writings. - "For this Zwingli," continues Eck, "teaches in his works manifold errors, tarnishes the faith, wrests to a violent and heretical sense Holy Scripture, the Word of God, and substitutes for the true a false signification. Such I offer, when and where it may suit you, with the help of the Almighty, and with the grace of the Holy Spirit, to prove against the said Zwingli in a Disputation. For I am full of confidence that I shall, with little trouble, maintain against Zwingli our old true Christian faith and customs to be accordant with Holy Scripture and not opposed to the same, and to prove that his ensnaring doctrines, lately sent abroad into the world, are contrary to it, and have no foundation therein."

Zwingli did not leave this challenge of Eck's long unanswered.

* As above-mentioned, the recipients of pensions and presents from foreign princes were the most violent enemies of the Reformation.

"Tell me," he writes in reply to him, "how dare you maintain that, out of love and reverence towards God, you had written to the Confederates, while, both by life and doctrine, you manifest very plainly that you do not believe on God at all? Did you believe in the God whom we Christians adore, you would never dare to fight against His Word. But what do we see? We see you, for some years back, contending against the Word of God in so wicked and foolish a manner that all Christians must hold you to be an enemy of God, nay, men of your own party can no longer place that confidence in you which you hoped to acquire. If gratitude, fear, and love towards God dwelt within your bosom, you would, if I really were the seducer of the people that you describe me to be, first of all have exhorted me in a friendly manner, for so God always speaks to sinners first; and had you been a servant of God, and given yourself up to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, you would have thus acted in conformity to what God commands in His Word: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone," Matt. xviii. 15. But you write to a pious Confederacy a letter without my knowledge full of insolent vituperation of me. What need have you of addressing me to appoint a time and place to dispute? If you are so desirous of it, come when you will to Zurich. The gates of this city stand open to you at all times, and I shall know how to answer you, depend upon it. If I have, by my preaching, led my people astray, it is reasonable I should be made to lead them again upon the right track, by being proved, in the midst of them, to be a false teacher. You confidently assert that, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, you will maintain the old Christian faith in its integrity against me. Tell me, pray, what you mean by the old faith. Have you any older than the faith on the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and on Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost? Or are you able to communicate older instructions upon this faith than those to be drawn from the Word of God itself, which God has spoken by Moses and the prophets, and at length by His only-begotten Son and His apostles? The old faith, in my opinion, is that which is in accordance with what was settled from the beginning, and the old doctrine is that which God himself has revealed; but these are somewhat older than your fathers and customs of which you boast. Set off, then, gladly on

a journey to Zurich. It is time that I should cease to teach false doctrine where I have done so; but much more is it time that you cease to delude the poor people by your wickedness and deception, and to circulate calumnies against the pious servants of the Lord behind their backs." The Zurich Council, sent through their own messengers a pressing invitation, with a safe-conduct, to Dr. Eck to repair to Zurich, as the accused Zwingli ought, in justice, to have his guilt established in the presence of his own magistracy. Eck, however, declined this invitation, under the pretext that he had already entered into arrangements with the Diet.

The deliberations as to the mode in which the Disputation should be conducted, and the place where it should be held, were continued by the Confederate deputies for a considerable time; Faber at length succeeded, by dint of persuasion and bribery, in getting this point arranged to his satisfaction. Zurich was not invited to any of the deliberations. They selected the small town of Baden in the Aargau as the place of disputation, and its object was promulgated to be, "to silence Zwingli and such like who promulgate delusive and ensnaring doctrines, to turn the common people from his errors, and to pacify their minds." The aim thus was not to investigate truth, but to put Zwingli to silence. The letter of safe-conduct betrayed also the openly pronounced object of the discussion, which letter was put into the hands of the Council, with the pressing request they would provide in every case that Zwingli should come, safe-conduct being secured to him and his friends, *provided* he arrived in no dangerous way, and demeaned himself in a manner worthy of the safe-conduct. The Council, however, recognised, after obtaining the opinion of a Commission named for the purpose, "that, according to Confederate law, every accused person ought to be tried at the place of his residence, and that, therefore, Zwingli was only bound to justify himself in Zurich, where he preached." While the Council, by this declaration, firmly refused to assist at the discussion in Baden, Zwingli, on his own part, replied to the safe-conduct sent to him by the Diet, in the following terms: "I thank God, gracious lords, that in your wisdom you have resolved upon a public disputation, and shall by no means withdraw myself from the same, in so far as Holy Scripture, explained by itself, be

recognised as the only and last judge, the articles to be discussed be fixed upon beforehand, the Assembly and all its members be sufficiently secured against violence. But how, dear sirs, can you desire that I should journey to Baden, which is under the jurisdiction of my determined foes, 'the five places?' Have not they publicly allied themselves together to proscribe my doctrine? Do they not decry me in every document they issue as a heretic? Have they not, even in the general invitation to the Conference, repeated the charge, although, in the invitation to Zurich, it be omitted? Do I not know that they, along with Freiburg, have formed the resolution, two years ago, to take me where they could find me, and to bring me to Lucerne? And is it not a common saying among their people, that one is not bound to hold a safe-conduct with heretics? In Freiburg, they burned my writings, in Lucerne my effigy; I might well know who, with honest intentions, would advise me to put myself in their hands. This I have plainly stated to the Great Council of Zurich, placing myself, however, entirely at their disposal to do with me as they may deem fit. Once more I offer to defend my doctrine against any opponent, be it in Zurich, in Berne, or St. Gall, without doubt considerable and respectable towns." In reference to the safe-conduct, he called their attention to many ensnaring passages, especially to the one that the safe-conduct was only to be kept so long as he conducted himself in a manner worthy of it. With such a condition, no free discussion could take place; for should he, for example, say, "the Pope is anti-Christ," this speech would be maintained to be unworthy of the safe-conduct, and it would be broken. That Zwingli, moreover, rightly penetrated the designs of his enemies is sufficiently clear from the following statements and occurrences. Eck and Faber had openly declared that heresy could only be thoroughly extirpated by the use of fire and sword. Immediately on the resolution of the Diet being published that the Disputation should be held in Baden, Thomas Murner* had exclaimed from the pulpit in Lucerne, "Zwingli, I

* Thomas Murner, a native of Strasburg, a not unlearned but a low-minded venomous monk, had, after many devious courses, and many struggles in life, at length settled down at Lucerne, where he gained the favour of the heads of the state by his intemperate invectives against Zwingli and the Reformation. He was, with the town-parson Bodler, a man of a like stamp, a demagogue of the papal party in this town.

warn you that your last hour is come." In a conversation, the deputy of Lucerne had replied to one who observed that the safe-conduct would certainly be kept with Zwingli if he came to Baden, "if we had him once here he should have prison-diet for the rest of his days." Captain Ueberlinger of Baden was willing "to be called his life-long hangman if they would but let him be the judge over Zwingli." From Berne, Zwingli's brother-in-law, Tremp, wrote to him, "As you value your life, abstain from going to Baden, for I know from a sure hand that no safe-conduct will be held with you." The Romanists, however, shewed by their actions, still more plainly than by these threatening and warning expressions which escaped some of the members of their party, the design they had in view. In Lucerne, Henry Messberg was put to death by a slow process of drowning for speaking against the nuns, and Jack Nagel was burned alive for the dissemination of "Zwinglian doctrines." At Schwyz, Eberhard Polt of Lachen, and a priest from the same quarter, suffered death by fire for speaking against the ceremonies. In Thurgau, also, there was an individual burned by the orders of "the five places" for impugning the mass. Faber displayed a like spirit of persecution in his own district. Peter Spengler of Freiburg, (in Breisgau,) was, at the command of the episcopal bench of Constance, of whose movements Faber was then well known to be the mainspring, drowned as a heretic; and only a few days before the commencement of the Disputation in Baden, Faber assembled, in the open market-place at Mersburg, a consistory under his presidency, to try for heresy John Huegelin, parson of Lindau. He confessed that he "believed the Holy Scriptures and the articles of the true primitive creed; against this he had taught nothing; was, therefore, no heretic, but a true Christian." He was deposed from the priesthood, and condemned to suffer death by fire, which punishment he underwent with prayerful resignation and Christian fortitude.

Such proceedings shewed very plainly what ends Faber, Eck, and the Romanists had in view by the Disputation at Baden; Zwingli especially had too much perspicacity of mind, and knew his adversaries too well to be ignorant of their designs. In some preliminary fencing with Faber and Eck in writing, which preceded the discussion, and in which he made them feel very sensibly his immense superiority to them, he clearly shewed

that he penetrated their artifices: "I and not the Disputation am the object in view, if I were once under the ice the Disputation would be at an end." "You and your knaves," cries he to Faber, who jeered at him for his mistrust, "and all to whom money is dearer than truth, right, and their very life, I trust only as far as I prudently can. But I will not stake my life on what a knave might stake it. Suppose that one of your villains, by a shot or a stab deprived me of life, and a magistracy apprehended him, (which might be difficult, for in such cases flight is generally secured,) of what use would it be to twist such a fellow upon the wheel? Know that I hold myself much too dear to venture myself among you, not, indeed, for my own sake, but for the sake of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, whose Word I may longer help to proclaim and defend with all the faithful, and stop the mouths of you papists. You are a well-spring from which blood pours forth, for you have followed after bloodshed for years. I shall give an account of my doctrine to every man to whom it is due, but not in the *place* where every one may wish to have it. Thereto the rights of your god, the pope, do not at all bind me. Let me be heard before my own community, there I am ready to justify myself. Christ himself says: 'Ask them which heard me what I have said.' Ask ye also the church congregation who heard me, or read my books, and if you find anything wrong in them, write against it; you do not require my person to do this. And although you were to take my life, yet you must refute my doctrine with the pen, for unless you do this, you cannot tear it from the hearts of those in whom I have implanted it. You stigmatise me for saying, 'One should not expose himself to a useless death.' Do you not know that Christ teaches the same doctrine in the words, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another;' and again, 'Neither cast ye your pearls before swine?' You feel deeply offended at this, and yet I have employed the words of Christ in their true sense, which is, that we should not cast our costly treasure of pearls, which the truth is, before those who will not accept it, but who will despise and persecute it. These Christ calls swine. Of such swine you are certainly one, and your fellows belong to the same breed, who keep crying 'heretic,' 'heretic,' when the gospel of Christ is proclaimed in their hearing by any of Christ's ambassadors."

Firmly as Zwingli resolved to avoid the snare so clumsily laid for him, by declining to appear at Baden, the Council, with equal firmness, refused to allow him to go. Thus the Disputation at Baden, from 21st May till 8th June 1526, in which Ecolampad and Haller represented the Reforming party, was held without Zwingli's presence.* In spirit, however, as Myconius assures us, he was present, and by his labours, continued day and night, and by the advice which he transmitted to Baden, he did the cause more real service than had he been present in body. Measures were taken each day to apprise Zwingli of the course of the Disputation, and of Eck's objections. A student from Wallis, who, under the pretext of using the baths, sojourned at Baden, attended the Disputation regularly, writing down the proceedings from memory every evening. Two young students, by turns, Thomas Plater of Wallis, and Zimmermann of Winterthur, brought these notes with Ecolampad's letters over night to Zwingli at Zurich, carrying upon their heads baskets with hens to avoid observation. In the morning, they returned with his answer. On Plater's knocking at the door on the night before Pentecost, and being at length admitted, he found the Reformer already in bed. "He soon, however, appeared," relates Plater, when he heard I was there, rubbed his eyes, and said: "Ay! ay! you are a restless lad. Here am I, who have not been in bed these six weeks, thinking that as to-morrow is Pentecost, I should get a snatch of rest." He set himself down, wrote his opinion upon the question in dispute, and sent his answer to Baden the same night. Upon the Disputation being ended, Thomas Murner, the monk, came forward before the whole assembly, and read forty abusive articles against Zwingli. "I thought," said he, "the coward would come, but he has not shewn face. I declare forty times, by all the rights which order things human and divine, that the tyrant of Zurich and his followers are knaves, liars, perjurers, adulterers, infidels, thieves, sacrilegious, food for gallows, and that no honourable man, without blushing, can keep company with

* Ecolampad was in less danger of his life by Zwingli's *absence* than he would have been by his *presence*. Zwingli's fall would have brought about that of his friends likewise, who happened to be present, while their death in his absence would have served no purpose, except to irritate Basle and Berne, towns which it was hoped would yet be gained to the papacy.

them." This conclusion of the Conference, as well as the whole bearing of the papal disputants, made upon many of those present a very unfavourable impression, so that in spite of the shouts of the Romanists, the consequences of the Disputation were by no means advantageous to the papacy. Berne and Basle, indeed, shortly afterwards broke loose from the party; and through the instrumentality of zealous evangelical preaching, were entirely won over to the Reformation. At the same time, the papists made the unpleasant experience, that in two countries at once, to wit, in Switzerland through the Baden Disputation, and in Germany through the first Diet, begun at Speyer, 1526, which the Archduke Ferdinand, at the orders of his brother Charles V.,* summoned, for the purpose of suppressing the Reformation, their savage demeanour and persecuting measures, instead of throwing fear and alarm into the ranks of the evangelical party, as they had hoped, only brought fresh accessions of numbers to this party. Indeed, a very short time afterwards, the Austro-Spanish Imperial house itself appeared willing to assume a more favourable attitude to the Evangelicals of Germany, the Emperor Charles V. breaking with Pope Clement VI., and sending his soldiers, who were mostly Protestant mercenaries, to take and plunder Rome, which they did. These events, however, exercised but an insignificant influence on Switzerland. In Rome, the Swiss mercenaries from the mountain-cantons fought with a heroic courage against the Imperial host, defending the Pope against the Emperor, at the very time that their fathers and brothers at home drew closer to the Archduke Ferdinand in the defence of the old faith, and the suppression of the Reformation.

Soon after the Disputation had taken place, the period arrived at which the cantons had to renew the oath of Confederacy between each other. The papal cantons declared they would neither give nor take the oath from Zurich; "Basle, St. Gall, and Muelhausen, must be treated in the same manner," said they. This conduct embittered the Reforming party, the more so as the signs grew plainer of an approximation of counsels on the part of the

* In a letter of the 23d March 1526, from Seville (Spain), Charles V. instructed his brother the Archduke to the following effect: The Diet is to maintain the old customs of the Church, and execute the edicts of Worms, (which commanded the suppression of the Lutheran doctrine and writings.)

papal cantons to those of the Archduke Ferdinand. This prince was indeed preparing war against Zurich, with the full understanding of the mountain cantons. At the same time the intemperate and shameless behaviour of Thomas Murner was in the highest degree revolting; the coarse libels which this ribald monk uttered against the adherents of the Reformation proved an incessant cause of irritation. His "Black Calendar" especially contains the worst specimens of this description of writing which the imagination can picture to itself. By the side of a portraiture of Zwingli, suspended from the gallows, there is the superscription: "Calendar of the Lutheran-Evangelical Church-Robbers and Heretics." At the introduction of the principal supporters of the Reformation, hardly any term in the vocabulary of low abuse is spared; the whole concludes with the declaration, that all its followers are "Impotent unprincipled villains, thieves, lick-spittles, dastards, and knaves, and that the heretics ought to be burned, and sent in smoke to the devil." Such insults were not only passed over with impunity by the civil power of the papal cantons, but were joyfully hailed by them, and disseminated far and wide, so that the indignant Zurichers had just cause to complain: "the foreign monk, Dr. Murner, vituperates us from his venomous malicious heart with such insolence, as to fill many a worthy man with indignation. You, however, dear Confederates, do not command him silence." Zurich had to bear other affronts from the Romanists. On the Council of this state striking a new silver coin, Uri prohibited it, as if it were derived from sacrilege; and in Zug, cups were stamped upon it to designate it such.

This ever increasing hostility, thus openly expressed against Zurich, inspired the enemies of Zwingli and of the Reformation in Zurich itself with fresh hopes and courage.* They began to move.

* Zwingli writes on this subject, in letters to his friends in Basle and Strasburg: "For some time back there has been again observed, whenever the cause of the gospel met with any difficulty, a great stir, and noisy and congratulatory meetings of our swarming Catalines. It was clear as day that these people would venture as much as the Cataline conspirators did in Rome. I confess that, as their words and actions betrayed more and more plainly their hitherto concealed plots, I, for my part, began to warn loudly against treachery. I succeeded, despite the defiance and hypocrisy with which they met me, in intimidating their chief power, and undermining their walls. They thought to have remained unobserved. I gave them to understand this was not the case, and that I myself

For some time gloomy reports had been spread abroad in the town that men in high positions, who were in the receipt of secret pensions from foreign princes, were stirring up the people against the regulations and decrees of the government. The suspected individuals were apprehended, and subjected to an instantaneous and searching examination within closed doors. James Grebel, (the father of an old but dubious friend of Zwingli's and the Reformation, whose acquaintance we shall afterwards make as one of the heads of the Anabaptists,) was convicted. He confessed to having received pensions and bribes from several princes at once. Neither his grey hairs nor the high esteem which he had hitherto enjoyed in Zurich and in the Confederacy, could avert from him the highest penalty of the law. Others, found guilty in a less degree, were banished from the country for a longer or shorter period. These exiles, along with several monks who, conscious of guilt, had secretly withdrawn from the town, contributed not a little to stir the embers of hatred and animosity among their co-religionists in the other cantons.

In spite of all these hindrances, the Reformation, animated by the breath of the Spirit of God, extended itself on every side. Berne, and Schaffhausen had declared decidedly for it; in Graubund, Glaurus, and Appenzell, the Reformers constituted the majority, and while St. Gall, at an earlier period, had received the gospel, there appeared growing signs of an evangelical movement in Thurgau, Rheinthal, Sarganserland, and in the free domains of Reussthal; nay, they appeared in the valleys of Italy itself. The mountaineers in the Waldstaedte alone withstood the breath of the new spirit, even as the glaciers of their alps resist the genial influences of spring.

Under these circumstances, they began to turn their eyes with

might perhaps make a disclosure. And so it was. I was, without their knowledge, in possession of certain letters, and had besides learned something here, and something there. The investigation begins. Much comes to light, partly insignificant, and partly important. Well Grebel, father of Conrad, is beheaded. He who held the highest character amongst us had received from the Emperor, the King of France, and the Pope, more than one thousand gold florins, under the pretext of rewards to his son. Several of the clique fled, the gates being negligently watched, one in a cart, hid under manure. The examination is still going on. I warn the one party to take an example by such an issue of the proceedings, I exhort the other to tear up this evil by the roots."

increased hope towards the Austro-Spanish house, and trusted that it would lend them aid to suppress the hated innovation and its supporters. The Archduke Ferdinand, after his election in the autumn of 1527 to be King of Hungary, had emitted a decree from Ofen, in Hungary, at Faber's suggestion, in which he forbids his subjects, on the penalty of death, to take up Zwingli's doctrine, or even to harbour one of the followers of it; and his brother, Charles V., wrote, on the 3d February 1528, from Burgos, (Spain,) to the papal cantons, praising them for their steady continuance in the ancient faith, and exhorting them to continue in the same course. Both on the eastern and northern frontiers Switzerland bordered on the dominions of Austria, and here, by letters and messages, an uninterrupted intercourse was carried on between the Austrian officials and the Swiss Romanists, which the papal clergy, high and low, zealously fostered. In February 1529, at length, a formal alliance was drawn out at Feldkirch, between deputies of the five papal cantons and Austrian delegates appointed for the purpose, which, two months later, was documented and sealed at Waldshut. "We, King Ferdinand, and 'The Five Places,'" so runs the treaty in part, "with the lands, dominions, and territories of both parties to this league, remain steadfast to the ancient true Christian faith and Christian sacraments; and if it so be that any one within our territories and dominions shall dare to attack the ancient true Christian faith and venerated sacraments, or secretly or openly to preach against the same, and endeavour to turn the people therefrom, such an one shall be punished in property and person. Austria sends, in case of need, six thousand foot and four hundred horse, with the requisite artillery, into Switzerland. To this end the Reformed cantons may be blockaded, and provisions prevented from entering them, or seized." Plans of a campaign were drawn out, according to which the Reformed cantons were to be invaded from different points at the same moment. Everything gave intimation that a resolution had been come to to suppress and extirpate evangelical doctrine by force of arms. In Germany preparations were made for the second Diet at Spires, with the view of the suppression of the Reformation, while in Barcelona, (Spain,) the emperor concluded peace with the pope,

on the 5th August 1529, solemnly promising the papal ambassador to root out heresy with the sword.

Zwingli penetrated more clearly than almost any of his contemporaries the designs and intrigues of the combined enemies, papal and Imperial. The infatuated blindness, indeed, of many of his countrymen gave him the deepest affliction, as appears from a letter to his friend Werner Steiner: "I speak the truth," he says, "in Christ, and lie not, that no pain so sharply affects me as the incredulity of some Swiss. This lies heavily on my heart, and torments me night and day; truly not as though I feared for myself, but for them." But, full of faith, he doubted not for a moment of the ultimate victory of the right cause. "It ought not to terrify us," he wrote, "that Faber and his crew not only work without intermission against the truth, but that they use every means in their power to accomplish the ruin of the preachers and teachers of it. We ought rather to rejoice at it, for this manifold opposition is a plain sign that we are near the promised land. The Papists pipe from their last hole, therefore they are so furious."

But the quarrels which arose between the advocates and friends of the Reformation themselves were far more keenly felt, and more deeply injurious than the reaction of the Papists. To these let us now direct our attention.

SEVENTH SECTION.

OBSTACLES TO THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION, ARISING FROM DIFFERENCES OF OPINION UPON THE SACRAMENTS OF BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not."—MATT. xxiv. 24-26.

1. INTRODUCTION.—ZWINGLI'S STANDING-POINT.

WE have seen how Zwingli, equipped in the armour of God, victoriously wielded the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, against the Papacy, storming with this potent weapon many of the strongholds of this anti-Christian power. In vain the burning missiles of lying calumny and intrigue were discharged against the champion of God. Unhurt, he stood girded with truth, defended by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, the shield of faith before him, and the helmet of salvation on his head, ever ready to proclaim the gospel. But just as the papal enemy, smote by the two-edged sword of the Spirit, began to give way, another arose in a different quarter, which pretended to fight under the same banner with the friends of truth, which employed the same watch-word, but which raised the shout of battle in their rear and flank, thus not only procuring, by their furious and ill-timed fanaticism, a breathing space for the Papists to rally their broken forces, but throwing such confusion into the ranks of the Evangelicals, that many, in the tumult thus occasioned, mistook the friend for the foe, and directed the whole weight of battle against the friend, instead of assailing the enemy. But while the bravest combatant may be deceived by a stratagem, which produces such a dislocation of forces, it is just in such a moment of peril

that the prudent general manifests his superiority, by penetrating with an eagle glance the designs of the enemy, and taking measures accordingly with a wise deliberation to frustrate them; with a suddenly made evolution, he falls upon the enemy behind him, while he holds in check the beaten foe in front. Such a generalship did Zwingli shew in this crisis; but it was a spiritual generalship, proving all in the light of God's Word, and of a faith which, resting upon God and overcoming the world, knew correctly to balance, with a sharp discrimination, the opposing claims of truth and falsehood, as they hung in the balance of controversy and of fight. Painfully as he was affected by the disunion in the ranks of truth, he allowed himself neither to be led astray by illusion, however tricked out it might be in the garb of piety, nor to be hurried away to any excess or violence by the angry attacks of his erring brethren. "We glorify God in the highest," he wrote to his friends in Berne, "as well for every accession as for every defection; not only when He strengthens our hopes but when He tries our patience. It is then we truly experience what fighting is, when the enemy not only attacks us in the front, but on the flank and rear; nay, when the very members of our household join him." The position which Zwingli took up, and the opinions he maintained in these conflicts, have been from first to last grievously misrepresented, and, indeed, grossly misapprehended. How? Because the standing-point he assumed, and from which he acted, has not itself been apprehended and steadily kept in view. In order to answer the misrepresentations, and to prevent all misconceptions of Zwingli's opinions, with regard to the nature and significance of the sacraments, we intend, shortly, to illuminate from the right quarter the *standing-point he took up in these disputes*.

The authority of the Word of God being recognised by all who took part in these controversies, for each party sought to make good its views by quotations from Scripture,* the question in the end came to be, Who has adopted the right method of discovering the

* Even the Anabaptists, while they often, by their pretended direct revelations, placed themselves higher than the written Word, recognised its authority, in so far that they represented their doctrines and observances as founded and enjoined in Scripture, although they often took up its utterances in a spirit too literal, and often understood them quite falsely.

true sense of Scripture? Let us learn from Zwingli's own words his opinions upon this point: "The Word of God," he says, "is full of significance, and rich in reference and allusion, and although it has but one, and this the simplest and the truest sense, yet it happens that, owing to the obtuseness and limited range of the human faculties, the genuine and proper sense of the Holy Ghost, who it is that speaks in Scripture, is comprehended but rarely and with difficulty, except by those whom the Spirit has conducted into His innermost sanctuary. It is thus that so many various explanations and senses are produced by the interpreters of Scripture, each striving to explain it to the profit of the Church, according to the gift given him of God. Nor are they to be so severely reprehended for their mistakes, when, as often occurs, they miss the mark in their commentaries, in so far as they keep solely in view that which is, in all the books of Scripture the grand and main object, *the glory of God and the salvation of man*. For Holy Scripture is an unmeasurable, and, in its whole extent, unnavigable sea, the depth of which has been sounded by none; it is a field, the cultivation of which will afford exercise to the intellectual labours of man during centuries. The Word of God is infallible perfect truth,—there is nothing therein unconsidered, disconnected, or self-contradictory; where, however, we do not understand the sense and the connection, there the fault lies not in the Word of God, but in the darkness and bluntness of our understanding. When these statements occur, which, at the first blush appear to stand in contradiction to other statements, the different passages ought to be held opposite each other; nor ought we to hold obstinately to a single one without any regard to the others, but view the whole in the light of all. What I mean will appear clearly by the following example: Arius* defended his heresy with the passage, John xiv. 28, 'My Father is greater than I.' Now Arius, along with this statement, ought to have weighed the following, John iii. 16, 'For God so loved the world, that He gave *His only begotten Son*;' and farther, chap. x. 30, 'I and my Father are one,' again,

* Arius, the well-known false teacher, presbyter of Alexandria in the first half of the fourth century, denied the equality in essence of the Son with the Father. Although his doctrine was condemned by the Church, the sect called after his name maintained itself for a considerable time, and much disturbed the peace of the Church.

chap. xvi. 15, 'All things that the Father hath are mine;' and chap. xiii. 3, 'Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands.' Had Arius compared these and countless other passages of a similar bearing from the gospel of John, with the statement, 'My Father is greater than I,' he would have found that this passage bore reference alone to the human nature of Christ, that in this he was *less* than his Father, not in His divine nature." "Almost every error comes from the *literalists*, who wrest the letter in a manner contrary to the true sense. The letter is for the sake of the sense, and is designed to serve it, not the sense the letter; and the letter must be explained according to the spirit and the true sense, else the former were nothing but a deception and a delusion. For there is not a word, the very plainest and simplest word that can be spoken on earth, which if one is bent upon chicanery and deception, may not be wrested from its true sense and falsified. Therefore it is not only with Holy Scripture, but with every law, with every precept, order or edict that is issued, with every speech, or use of language whatever, a standing rule, that the purport and sense shew the contents and significance of the words, and not that the dark, and as yet, comparatively speaking, unintelligible *word* be allowed to overmaster, to confuse, and mistify the sense. This may be shown by innumerable examples from Holy Scripture, as well as from profane books; I shall illustrate it by a single one. Christ commands: 'If thy foot offend thee, cut it off.' If we were to estimate the sense of these words according to *the literal standard*, it would be requisite to take from man not only one foot but every foot he had, even although he had as many as the centipedes or the sea-urchins. But if we keep to the true sense and purpose of Christ, according to which He means to say, that we are to cut off from the body, which is the Church, the infectious part that, like a cancer, would eat into the whole if not removed, it is evident that not the foot upon which a man goes and stands is to be cut away, but the corrupt brother in the faith, even although he might in other respects be as serviceable as one foot is to the other. The clear sense must determine the less clear sense, not the words the sense. The words of Christ are spirit, not letter; therefore one ought not in a stubborn and violent spirit to hang on the letter alone, but to take the letter according

to the spirit. But still the letter must not be despised. If you say the letter kills, of what use is it then? I reply: this is a mode of speech; for properly speaking, it is not the letter which kills, but he kills himself, is himself the cause of his death, who rests upon the letter alone, and pierces not to the sense and the spirit. The ropes draw not without the horse, nor the horse without the ropes, but both when they are united. The ropes, however, keep the horse in the straight line. If there were no letter in Scripture, each would speak according to his own spirit. The written Word is therefore the rule, and the rope by which all is to be directed. The spirit of truth, *i.e.* the spirit of the believer, illuminated by the Spirit of God, comprehends the letter, and rules it. The Spirit wrests not the letter or the sense, but it clears it up, and makes it plain. It is not only carnal, it is something worse, so foolishly to hold to the unintelligible letter that one will not listen to the clearer word. We will that one reject not the letter, but esteem it very highly, but only for the right understanding of the sense, else the letter is worse than useless, for it becomes positively hurtful."

While Zwingli, according to these principles of interpretation, which will hold true for ever, investigated the Scriptures, and explained their meaning, he preserved himself from the errors in which others were involved, so that the Word of God was, in truth, to him "a lamp to his feet and a light to his path." Another guiding star which lighted him and preserved him from error was *faith*, which, in its whole depth and clearness, and a confidence founded upon God, he seized and retained firmly in his grasp. Let us hear how he expresses himself upon the meaning of faith. "Faith," says the apostle, "is the substance of things hoped for (the essential confidence in the things); the evidence of things not seen." The meaning of the apostle thus is, faith is something substantial, fundamental in the soul, not a light hap-hazard dreaming or thinking, which shapes itself now so and now so, that is, something uncertain; but a firm and substantial confidence of the soul, with which it entirely depends on that hoped for, to wit, the thing which can alone be the object of hope with infallible certainty. The expression, "the things hoped for," is a periphrasis for God, upon whom alone we can with truth set our hope. But the words of the apostle mean

farther, that faith is *that substantial and solid thing in our soul*, vouchsafed to us by Him who is the object and the confidence of our hope. The words, "and the evidence of things not seen," elucidate the first part of the statement; for the invisible is again a circumlocution for the one God, as the visible denotes the creature. See Rom. i. 20; 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. Thus faith rests alone upon Him who cannot be perceived and recognised by the senses, but of whom the mind, the intellect, the soul, with reflection and confidence, is conscious. Therefore faith can neither have reference to, nor find support on, any creature, but has alone to do with the one invisible God. Thus it is contrary to the nature of faith to turn itself upon anything visible, *i.e.*, upon any creature as creature. When we are pointed to Christ, this is done for the reason that he is God and man; but to his humanity none is to be directed, as he himself says, John xii. 44: "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, (*i.e.*, he is not to have faith or confidence in me in so far as I am man), but on Him that sent me." Faith is consequently the essential and living power of the soul animated by the Spirit of God, which rests firmly and immovably upon God, who is invisible. Man is thus inwardly conscious of faith in the soul, which then springs up when he begins to despair of himself and to perceive that he must set his confidence upon God alone; then, however, arrives at perfection (is perfected), when he renounces himself entirely, and gives himself wholly up to the Divine mercy; but so that inasmuch as Christ has given himself for him he reposes full confidence in it. But how is the believer to know his faith? 'Tis then thou art free from sin when thy soul firmly trusts in *the death of Christ*, and rests upon it. But this faith comes not from man, it comes alone from God, as Paul likewise derives it from the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. xii. 9, &c. Flesh and blood, *i.e.*, man, comprehends not that God has become man, and that through His death the whole world has received new life and blessing. Man reasons much rather in this way; thou hast sinned, consequently thou must suffer the penalty, or give satisfaction. So run human contracts. He who believes, however, that, by the death of Christ, the sins of the whole world have been atoned for, has learned it from another teacher, namely, from God. Faith, then, comes not from flesh and blood, but from God. Flesh and blood, *i.e.*, man, cannot

comprehend this, partly because what is good in him is so small, partly because his sins are of such magnitude and of such number that it is impossible for him to come to God. When, however, he begins to recognise and believe that he can obtain justification and salvation not through his own strength, and through his own righteousness, but alone through the free mercy of God, such knowledge and belief comes to him from God, it descends to him from heaven. Such a man is born again; he is born from above, and begins a heavenly life; his former life displeases him, he abhors sin, and acknowledges himself to be a sinner before the Majesty of heaven; he cleanses himself daily from his transgressions, he feels grief for past sins, and guards against new ones. If he falls, he quickly rises and flies to God, arms himself to battle against the enemy, and stands steadfast at his post. Neither does the proclamation of the Word work such a faith as this; for we see that many hear the gracious message of the gospel and yet believe it not. Nay, the greater part of those who heard Christ himself remained without faith, and many of those who can talk of Christ from Holy Scripture trust not upon Him, as may be seen in those who seek their salvation in the creature, or in external things. Thus faith proceeds not from human reason or intelligence, but alone from the illuminating and drawing Spirit of God. This our dear Lord Jesus himself teaches, John vi. 44: "No man can come unto me except the Father which hath sent me draw him." He then proves from the prophets that it was recognised by them of old that the knowledge of the Redeemer must be learned from God; and then he adds, "Every man therefore that hath heard and hath learned of the Father cometh unto me," ver. 45; from which words we plainly perceive to what school we must go to be instructed in the knowledge of the Son; to the Father. Thus faith can come from no quarter but from God. One man can shew to another by the outward Word with what love God, as Father, embraces us, and what He has given us in His Son. This consolation the evangelical preacher can represent and proclaim to the dejected and doubting conscience, but that it with full confidence accept it, approve it, and firmly believe it, this he cannot effect. He who believes a preached gospel, and trusts in Christ, from him despair evanishes, and the conscience, staid upon certain and undoubting

faith, becomes healed and pacified. For what shall He refuse us, who has given His only-begotten Son for us? But that a man believes this, holds fast to it, and becomes transformed to a new man in Christ, this is the work of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, this effect is sometimes ascribed to the evangelical teacher, and it is considered to be the effect of his mediation, as when Paul says, "He hath begotten the Corinthians through the gospel." In the same manner, when Scripture ascribes salvation to faith, that is attributed to the nearer and more known cause which is alone the work of God. It is God alone who justifies and saves, and that out of pure mercy and grace. As Paul also says, Rom. viii. 30: "Whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified." To speak correctly, then, it is election and not faith which saves. But because faith is the surest sign of our election, that is here ascribed to faith which properly belongs to election. In like manner, Paul, when he writes to the Romans, chap. x. 17, "Faith cometh by hearing," attributes to the nearer and to us better known cause that which is alone the work of the Spirit and not of the outward preaching. And this is a truth, not only proved to us by such testimonies of Scripture as, "No man cometh unto me except the Father draw him," and "to another, faith (is given) by the same Spirit," 1 Cor. xii. 9, and many others, but by daily experience; for we see that many who hear the preaching of the gospel believe it not. Paul, however, means to say something more than that it is necessary that the Word be preached, through which means God plants faith, from whom all growth proceeds, by his own hand. For even apostolic labour, though derived from the power of God, is but a means; the inward drawing of the soul is the immediate act of God's Spirit. Faith likewise comes not from outward things, but alone from a drawing God. Nor can outward things even confirm it. Christ indeed says: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin," &c. &c. These words seem to import that miracles wrought faith; but this is not their sense. For who saw greater miracles than Pharaoh and the Pharisees? And who believed less than they? Therefore signs and wonders do not make a believer; they lead only in so far to faith as God in the soul of man is operative and draws.

From this stand-point Zwingli investigated the significance of

the "sacraments," and their reference to the work of salvation. By *sacrament*, the Romans understood *an oath*, and principally the oath which soldiers swore when they joined the army,—the oath to follow the standards. Latin ecclesiastical language employed "sacrament" to designate a sign or symbol of a holy thing. Both these significations Zwingli combined, so that, according to him, "the sacraments were solemn symbolical assurances and promises, or *signs of obligation*. This they are in a double sense. Firstly, because God's gifts of mercy and grace which He has vouchsafed to us in Christ are presentiated and assured to us by them. Hence the name of Sacrament properly belongs to those holy transactions alone which God has instituted, commanded, and ordained in His Word, which itself is as firm and sure as the oath of God can be. Secondly, "Sacrament" signifies, in respect to us, a symbolical obligation upon oath, seeing that he who receives the sacrament binds himself thereby to do that which is demanded by it. He who has been marked by the holy rite of baptism will hear what God says to him, will learn His commandments, and live according to them. Wherefore Paul derives from baptism the strongest encouragements to crucify the flesh. Baptism is thus that symbolical sign by which we are summoned, and by which we bind ourselves to lead a new life, engaging to shew gratitude to the grace of God, which has been done to us in Christ, who has washed us by His blood, that we may not be again stained with sin. Baptism does not regenerate or make us new men, but it reminds us that we be such, or at least that we seek to be such. In the Holy Supper of the Eucharist, we commemorate the propitiation made, when Christ, the God-man, was offered up in sacrifice in His human nature, and we thank God for this great benefit, obliging ourselves to lead a Christian life with love to the brethren. While in this holy transaction we praise the gracious gifts of the divine goodness and mercy, these are not communicated to us except symbolically, the symbols and the preached Word simply *announcing* them to us. It is the Holy Spirit alone which draws the mind to its own source of light and joy, by which the souls that have pined in despair on account of their sins are again quickened and renewed in youth. If the *mere transaction* could do anything of this sort, then were Judas come to himself again, and had not left the society of the other dis-

ciples to go away and betray his Master. Nay, the executioners themselves who nailed Christ to the cross, or blasphemed Him at the cross, had changed their disposition, and had not given free course to their wickedness, if the outward things had brought faith or the pardon of sins. For they saw that thing by which the sins of the world are expiated, not symbolically expressed, but transacted before their eyes. However nothing of the kind followed. For only those repented whom the Spirit inwardly illuminated to recognise Christ as their Saviour, and whom the Father drew, that they might come to Him, and joyfully receive Him. Outward things, therefore, can only *announce* and *signify*. Yet Christ condescends to call the bread His body, which, to speak with Augustine, is but the sign of His body; and men enlightened by the Spirit of God follow their Master, attributing to the holy Eucharist all that for which we give thanks in this solemn act of praise. They call it the *body of the Lord*, because we therein commemorate that Christ became man, and died for us. They call it *pardon of sins*, because we therein give thanks that Christ purged away our sins by His death. They call it a *nourishment of souls*, because in it He is exalted who alone is the undoubted pledge of our hope. Not as though the natural bread were the natural body of Christ, or as if the same, eaten and digested, took away sin, or as if the natural bread and the natural body of Christ could nourish the soul, but because the divine goodness has acted towards us in so gracious and familiar a way as to present certain images and forms of inward spiritual things to our outward senses, which signs it dignifies with the same names as the things themselves which they signify, because they are the symbolical signs and intimations of the more substantial realities. Hence the holy fathers taught that the sacraments consisted of two things—of the visible and invisible, or of the sensible and the spiritual. Not as though the bread in the Supper were at once the sign and the thing, that is, the real bread and the real body of Christ, but in the sense that the bread is the sign, while the thing signified is, that Christ has given himself for us, and been actually sacrificed, which is confessed and believed by the partakers of the Supper. Of this reality the bread is the symbol present to the senses, the reality itself, however, is present to the believing soul. Not as if the bread were

natural and visible bread, and at the same time the natural and invisible body of Christ, but the bread is natural and visible bread; the thing, however, which nourishes the soul, namely, that God has given His Son for us, is the invisible. Of this invisible the bread is the visible sign. Nor is it meant to be asserted that the bread is natural bread perceptible to the senses, and at the same time a spiritual power, but simply that the bread, as it falls upon the senses, points to the spiritual renewal of the soul which is effected through faith in Christ sacrificed for us. The divinely illuminated men, then, who, after the example of Christ their teacher, have employed very strong language on this subject, have not done wrong in so doing, inasmuch as they perceived that with no colours could they sufficiently magnify the greatness of the benefits conveyed. But it is highly objectionable in us to be so foolish and perverse as to attribute to a thing symbolical that which belongs to God, and at once to transform the Creator into the creature, and the creature into the Creator. Christ has not instituted the sacraments that we may seek or place our righteousness in them, but that we may be reminded and stirred up by them to arrive at true righteousness of heart and faith; for the external signs do not make us righteous, but they point us to justification by faith, and they awaken us to holiness of life."

Having thus surveyed the standing-point which Zwingli took up upon this ground, we shall pass over to the contests which he was compelled to wage from the position which he assumed, and first of all, with the Anabaptists of Zurich.

2. THE ANABAPTISTS OF ZURICH.—THEIR OVERTURES TO ZWINGLI, AND FACTIOUS SPIRIT.

We have already, on various occasions, alluded to those men of impetuous character who plunged into the conflict of the Reformation without the necessary consecration of heart and soul, and whom Zwingli was oftentimes compelled to exhort to moderation and temperance of spirit, lest the pure and healing stream of the evangelical movement might be disturbed by their passions, or made to overflow its banks. These men became, after they had failed to shape the Reformation according to their

views, the founders and heads of the sect of the Anabaptists.* Zwingli himself speaks of them in the following terms: "They who have begun with us the strife about baptism have often before this time entreated us to found a new church or community, free from sin. These were fanatical men of turbulent dispositions, who had already formed the resolution to change the freedom of the gospel into the license of the flesh. They came to us ministers of the Word in Zurich, at first, indeed, in a friendly, but yet in so importunate a spirit, that one could bode mischief from their very mien and bearing. They thought it would be impossible for us to prevent that, even among those who boast themselves as belonging to the gospel, many should not be found who would stand in the way of it. It could never be expected that all should live as Christians. 'Now,' said they, 'according to the Acts of the Apostles, the faithful separated themselves from the others, and formed a new church. The same thing must be done now.' They begged us to publish a declaration, that those who were disposed to follow Christ should place themselves to us, in which case they promised us that our host would far exceed that of the unbelievers. The community of the saints would then choose their council or senate from among themselves, as it was very apparent how many disbelieving and impious persons were to be found in the Council and in the present mixed Church. We returned them the following answer: 'It is undoubtedly true that there ever will be people who, though confessing Christ, lead ungodly lives,

* An attempt has been made to prove that Anabaptism constructed itself out of the various sects of the middle ages. In Zurich, however, this cannot be shewn to have been the case. The principles of the Anabaptists might indeed find a favoured soil where such seeds existed, but in general it is without doubt true what Hase says in his work entitled "The New Prophets." "Anabaptism has had its originators and heads in various regions; but everywhere among the people of German extraction, where the Reformation has reared its standard, we meet with Anabaptists without any proveable connection with each other, and in so multiform shapes, that any individual origination is out of the question. We can only conclude that they shot up simultaneously upon the common soil of the Reformation. Anabaptism, a posthumous natural son of the Reformation, bearing a full family-likeness to the first-born son. Protestantism, fighting with the latter against the Papacy, had of necessity to fall out and part company with it. Rebaptisation was the solemn rite by which it formed itself into an exclusive sect. Yet rebaptisation was but the outward badge of Anabaptism falling on the eye, like the cup of the Hussites."

and make a mock of virtue, nay, of godliness itself. If such, however, perseveringly give themselves out as Christians, and their practice is such as to permit of their being suffered by the Church, they yet belong to our party, according to the principle which Christ himself laid down at the planting of the gospel, a time which has so much resemblance to our own, 'He who is not against us is with us.' He has also commanded that we should let the tares grow with the wheat till the harvest. Thereby we have the confident hope that of those who are disinclined to godliness several will daily change and amend their lives. But even although this result should not take place, it is still possible for even the most pious to live among the godless. The example of the apostles is not applicable here, since they from whom they separated did not confess Christ. Nor would the greater part of these join in a separation from us, even were they more intimately bound to Christ than we ourselves. In the continual administration of the Word, we shall proclaim to all that which it is necessary for them to know, if they will not trifle with their own salvation, and we doubt not the number of believers will continue to increase steadily by the continual exhibition of the Word, and not by the tearing asunder of the body into many parts."

To the leaders of this extravagant party belonged Conrad Grebel, a descendant of one of the most honourable families of Zurich, who had formerly enjoyed the friendship of his brother-in-law Vadian, and through him of Zwingli also. He had studied at Vienna and Paris, and had made acquirements in learning by no means common, especially in the Greek language; but he had, by a life of dissipation and debauchery,* squandered away his patrimonial means, and so ruined his health, and so sullied his mind, that as Hottinger says, "he resembled a mirror, that, stained by an impure breath, takes up and reflects even the most beautiful image in deformed and distorted shapes." To him was united Felix Manz, the natural son of a prebend and a Zurich maiden. He also had received a learned education, and

* We have learned above in the Sixth Section the melancholy end of his father on the scaffold. The money which the hoary-headed father drew from foreign princes, in violation of his oath and duty, the son dissipated in rioting and debauchery.

had made considerable proficiency in Hebrew. Both had at first expected of Zwingli that, as "Rector of the Schools," he would have caused some of the prebends to be suppressed, and appointed and paid them out of the funds as teachers, Grebel of the Greek, and Manz of the Hebrew languages. As, however, this could not be done without an infringement of the rights guaranteed and obligations already entered into, and Zwingli, besides, reposed no great confidence in them, they sought to satisfy their ambition, and accomplish their interested objects in another way. To the above two, there united themselves some men from the people, and some country priests, who, without the unction of the Spirit, and more from hatred to the papacy than love to the Lord, sided with the Reformers, and who, in the sequel, gave themselves up to their impure zeal and fanaticism, instead of subjecting themselves to the discipline of the Word of God, and the guidance of His Spirit. These were joined by William Roebli,* parson at Wytikon, John Broedlein at Zollikon, Simon Stumpf at Hoengg, and a run-away monk Blaurock, called George of the house of Jacob, of Chur. At first they had no fixed party-standard to call together the new community, and bring their fanaticism into action. The waves of the peasant insurrection, which raged at this time in Germany, threw the notorious Thomas Muenzer,† on the Swiss frontier. In Waldshut, this fanatic made the acquaintance of the parson of the place, Balthazar Hubmeier, whom he entirely gained over to his objects. On Muenzer's approaching Switzerland, and holding intercourse with the Zurichers of like opinions, they soon discovered a badge of distinction for the new community: it was *rebaptism*. They began to depreciate infant baptism, and to represent it as highly objectionable.‡ "It sur-

* William Roebli was a native of Rotenburg on the Neckar; parson at Basle he caused the Bible, instead of the relics, to be carried in a procession, and, in consequence, was obliged to flee and came to Zurich, where, as we have seen above, he made an ostentatious marriage, as the first ecclesiastic who renounced celibacy. Zwingli passes this judgment upon him; he was bold and loquacious, but had little understanding.

† Thomas Muenzer, born at Stolberg on the Harz, had studied at Wittenberg, and was afterwards preacher at Zwickau, where he, with like-minded friends, the so-called "Zwickau prophets," founded the sect of the Anabaptists. Banished from Saxony, he came over to Suabia, where, chiefly by the sermons of these fanatics, the peasant insurrection was excited to Waldshut.

‡ They called it a "dog's bath," "an invention of the devil," or when they would use milder language, "an invention of the pope and anti-Christ."

prised us much," says Zwingli, "that they were so zealous against it, but at length we observed that it was for the reason that, on infant baptism being rejected, they might have a pretext for organising their church under the banner of rebaptisation." Zwingli held a disputation with them upon this controversial point, and endeavoured to instruct them. With this view, he arranged a meeting with them once a-week, when he hoped that arguments and counter-arguments might open their minds to better opinions, (Zwingli himself candidly confesses, that he held for a time the opinion, that it would be better not to baptise the young till they had reached a convenient age.) But instruction was not the object of these fanatics; the abolition of infant baptism, and the introduction of anabaptism, were only to serve as pretexts for bringing a spirit of insurrection to bear on all order in Church and State. With the change in baptism, the Holy Supper was to be degraded to an evening revel, which they held under the name of "setting up the table of the Lord"* in particular houses at nocturnal meetings. At the same time, they rejected all regularly ordained preachers, maintaining that no paid clergyman can preach the truth. In the state, they recognised no authority. "No Christian," they said, "can assume a civil office, or carry the sword, or be judge; none is obligated to pay rents, tithes, or dues; all chattels are common to all." Community in wives was also not only taught by them, but practised, as appears from the words of Zwingli: "Into whatever house they enter, they lay snares for the fidelity of wives, and innocence of daughters, and cause them to fall; for in their spotless church fornication, adultery, perjury, theft, deceit, and whatever more wicked can be conceived, happens far more frequently than among those whom they decry with the opprobrious epithets of the 'flesh' and 'devil.' I speak the truth, and could, if necessary, prove what I say. But in whatever crime or vice they are taken, their defence is ever the same: I have not sinned, I am no more in the flesh but in the Spirit; I am dead to the flesh and the flesh is dead to me."

Zwingli recognised, at an early period, the great danger

* Such a "Supper" Hubmeier celebrated at Waldshut, a military captain by his side, surrounded by shouting and drinking soldiers, with the resonance, now of a light song, now of a pious psalm in wild confusion.

threatened by these dangerous and delusive doctrines; and with a wise circumspection, he adopted measures fitted to avert it. We have seen above how, in order to preserve the change in public worship and its ordinances from the evil influence of such people, he gave over the decision in regard to any alteration to be made to the Council, with consent of the congregation. The legal civil authority, in its relation to the Christian moral, he considered in his sermon, "On Divine and Human Justice." "The Scriptural Character of the Christian Minister," in a treatise. But with a true appreciation at once of their fanaticism, and of the principles of Christian charity, he dissuaded against any violent interference with them, although they nevertheless proceeded to the wildest excesses. In Zollikon, Broedlein and Roebli excited the people, on the Pentecost of 1524, to break in pieces the images, the altars, and even the baptismal font. This occurrence was the more vexatious to Zwingli and his friends, as it took place when they were seriously deliberating about removing the images in a legal way, and changing the mass into the celebration of the Supper. The Council interfered against this act of violence, imprisoning Roebli, and banishing Broedlein from the town and territory of Zurich. Broedlein's friends gave him a feast at parting, at which Manz, Blaurock, and one after the other, a number of uninvited guests appeared, many of whom, heated by wine and exciting speeches, desired to receive the "baptism of the regenerate." Manz and Blaurock consented. The rebaptised, baptised again others, and so the fanaticism spread. Upon the following Sunday, as another preacher entered the pulpit at Zollikon, Blaurock stood up in the centre of the church, and commanded him to keep silence: "I am," said he, "the door, by me if any man enter in he shall find pasture; whoever goes in otherwise is a thief and a robber; as it is written: 'I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd giveth His life for the sheep,' so I give my body and my life for my sheep, my body to the dungeon, and my life to the sword, or the fire, or the rack, wherever, like the blood of Christ on the cross, it may be drained from the flesh. I am the beginner of baptism and the bread of the Lord, along with my elect brethren in Christ, Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. Therefore the pope with his followers is a thief and a murderer.

Zwingli and Leo Jud, too, with their followers, are thieves and murderers until they recognise this." So ran the confused creed of this fanatic. It was with difficulty that the under-governor maintained the peace, so as to enable the new parson to deliver his sermon. Meantime, the spirit of fanaticism blazed up still higher. Bands of these people carrying lighted torches promenaded the streets of Zurich, shouting dark prophetic sayings, and held from time to time nocturnal assemblies, "to set up the table of the Lord." Whole crowds of deceivers and deceived clothed themselves in sackcloth, bestrewed themselves with ashes, and girding themselves with ropes, cried on the public streets: "Woe, woe to thee, Zurich; in forty days thou shalt be destroyed." The Council ordered the ringleaders of the sect to appear at the Town-Hall, that they might there defend their doctrine against Zwingli in open disputation, or be instructed by him in a better, and turned from their error. They made excuses; "they had already spoken enough with Zwingli upon their doctrine, and might not answer him any more, especially as in consequence of his long speeches, they could never come to it." They were obliged at length to yield obedience. Accordingly, on the 17th January 1525, the Disputation with the Anabaptists took place, in which Zwingli gained a complete victory over them, all their arguments being thoroughly answered. The Council then published the following ordinance: "An error having arisen in respect of baptism, to the effect that infants should not be baptised until they arrive at years of discretion, and knowledge of the faith; and some having, in consequence thereof, left their children unbaptised, we have ordered a disputation upon this matter on the grounds of Holy Scripture; and have ordained that without regard to this error, children must be baptised as soon as born; and those who have left their children unbaptised, must have this rite performed within the next eight days. Whoever will not conform to this decree, shall, with wife and child, with purse and property, quit the town of our lords, their jurisdiction and territory, or take what farther may befall him."*

* Hottinger, in his "History of the Confederates during the Church-schism," 2d Section, page 34, has incorrectly given the contents of this decree of the Council, it being, according to him, to the effect that all children are henceforward to be baptised before their eighth year, on the penalty of banishment.

expatriation which, in conformity with this decree, was pronounced on some of the party, was not in accordance with Zwingli's sentiments, for he would rather have had the fanatical spirit die out under his powerful influence at Zurich, than, by the dispersion of its authors, have caused it to be more widely disseminated. Those left behind in Zurich still continuing their irregular proceedings, a number of them were inclosed in the Augustine cloister, that they might be brought from their errors by Zwingli and his colleagues, who frequently visited them for this purpose. But this measure was equally unavailing. The outlawed carried their doctrines farther and farther, and the imprisoned persisted obstinately in their delusion. Nay, they even gave out that Zwingli, in his conversations with them, had been refuted and put to silence. Grebel, indeed, had the audacity to write to Vadian: "Zwingli has conferred with the greatest simpleton amongst us, and yet he, with the help of God and His truth, has put him to shame, with all his wisdom." In these circumstances, some of the Anabaptists themselves desired a new public disputation with Zwingli, and in their petition to the government to this effect they gave the assurance, that "whatever is then discovered to be in accordance to the Word of God, we shall stake our persons and lives, our honour and property upon. As, however, we have not received from God the gift so to speak with Zwingli that he may thoroughly understand us, or we fully express ourselves, we beg you will permit certain who have been banished for this matter to appear with a safe-conduct at said Conference, and thereafter to return to their present place of residence free of danger."

3. PUBLIC DISPUTATION WITH THE ANABAPTISTS, 6th November 1525.

Zwingli's Opinions on Baptism, Rebaptisation, and Infant Baptism.

Zwingli supporting the petition of the Anabaptists, a Disputation was fixed for the 6th November 1525, and a free safe-conduct secured to all who were willing to attend the same, and

defend their views and opinions. As rulers of the Conference, there were appointed: Dr. Vadian of St. Gall, Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, Comthur Schmidt of Kuessnacht, and Abbot Joner of Kappel. Zwingli, along with Leo Jud and Kasper Grossmann, undertook to speak against the Anabaptists, who assembled in the town in great numbers from all the communes of the canton, under their chief men, Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock. The town-hall was already filled with the multitude of auditors and participators in the proceedings, when a fresh crowd thronged in with the exclamation, "O, Zion! O, Zion! rejoice Jerusalem!" which made it necessary to adjourn the meeting to the Great Minster Church.

Here Zwingli developed, with lucidness and dignity, his views of baptism, and the propriety of infant baptism, and rebutted with force the objections of his opponents. "In respect of baptism,"* he said, "nearly all the teachers in the Church have erred since the days of the apostles, by attributing to the water a significance which it has not, and which the holy apostles have not taught; and thus they have misapprehended the words of Christ, John iii. 5, when he speaks of water and the Spirit. Baptism has four different senses in Holy Scripture. Firstly, it signifies *the dipping in water*, whereby alone we are designated or consecrated to a Christian life.† Secondly, it is taken to represent *the inward illumination and attraction* when man acknowledges and depends on God, and this is *the baptism of the Spirit*.‡ Thirdly, it signifies *the outward doctrine of salvation*, and *the outward washing with water*.§ Fourthly, and finally, it stands for *the outward washing and the inward faith at once*,|| that is, *the designation and obligation to lead a Christian life*, and for the *assurance of salvation in its whole extent*. Now as some pay no

* According to Bullinger's testimony, who was present both at this and the former Disputation with the Anabaptists, Zwingli answered their objections in the same way, and with the same arguments as he employs in his afterwards published writing, "Baptism, Anabaptism, and Infant Baptism;" and as he himself says as much, we have thought proper to take from it what concerns this section.

† Baptism by water, or ordinary baptism.

‡ The baptism of the Spirit, or inward baptism.

§ The baptism of water and doctrine at once.

|| The baptism of water and the Spirit at once.

regard to these distinctions made by Scripture, they run into strange errors, and judge of things which they do not understand. We shall establish each of the above significations by passages from Holy Scripture. In John iii. 23 it is said: 'And John was baptising in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came and were baptised.' Here it is clear that water-baptism alone is spoken of, it being said there was much water there, which could alone serve a water-baptism. Of the baptism of the spirit, Christ speaks in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. i. 5: 'For John truly baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.' Here Christ clearly marks the distinction between the two baptisms. John baptised only with water, and the outward doctrine. Nay, the apostles, and John, and all that ever were, have no other baptism to administer but that of water and of doctrine; for the baptism of the Spirit no man can give, but God alone. Therefore Christ says, immediately thereon, 'but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost.' This signifies the inward teaching, drawing towards and fastening on God. Christ, however, speaks not of such in the sense as if He rejected the baptism of John; for the external baptism of John, of Christ, and His disciples is one and the same baptism, and what Christ says of the baptism of John holds good of all human baptism. Peter, Paul, James baptised only with water, or with outward doctrine, for with the Spirit they could not baptise, God alone baptising with the Spirit, how, whom, and when He will. In regard to the third sense, the doctrine of the apostles and their baptism shews that 'baptism' is taken for the outward doctrine and baptism by water at once, as John himself says, John i. 16, 'I baptise with water.' Now, John did not baptise only with water, for he united instruction with it. As, however, his doctrine, as well as that of the apostles was but external, and of no avail to influence the heart, it was, in as far as they were concerned, as much an outward thing as the dipping in water, or the sprinkling with it. Therefore he himself says, 'I baptise with water,' although he taught not less than baptised, as he speaks afterwards, 'I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.' But we find 'baptism' taken for doctrine in John iii. 22: 'After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea:

and there he tarried with them, and baptised." How? Did Christ baptise? Yet it is immediately afterwards added, John iv. 2: "Though Jesus himself baptised *not*, but his disciples." It is undeniable that *baptism* here, in the first instance, means *teaching*. For Jesus *taught*, which was specially His office, while His disciples administered the baptism by water. How Christ, however, drew the heart thereby, He himself alone knows. The baptism of John is likewise taken for doctrine in Matt. xxi. 25, and Acts xix. 1. We said, fourthly, that baptism signifies the Christian's order of salvation, that is, the inward faith which saves, as it is said in 1 Peter iii. 21: 'Baptism doth only now save us.' Now baptism does not save us, neither that of doctrine nor of water, but *faith*. But that one might receive water-baptism, unaccompanied by faith, appears from John vi. 66. No one of those disciples were unbaptised. For we hear, John iv. 1, 'He made and baptised disciples;' but He reproaches them, vi. 56, 'Ye also have seen me, and believe not,' and in the same chapter, ver. 24, 'But there are some of you that believe not.' Yet He baptised them. Nor was Judas believing, as it is written, ver. 70, 'Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' It is evident from what has been said that Judas was baptised, for Christ made many more disciples than John, and baptised also through his disciples. They cannot, however, have been unbaptised, seeing they baptised others. Thus water-baptism has been administered to those who did not believe, and many have received it who believed not. We find here and there examples of the baptism by the Spirit's being bestowed before the baptism by water. Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, Gamaliel, were believers, but secretly; hence they were without doubt *not* baptised, else they had not been able to conceal it, for baptism is granted and received for the sake of the other fellow-believers, and not for his sake who receives it, as though it effected something by him. In the Acts of the Apostles, chap. x. 44, Cornelius and all who heard Peter received the Holy Ghost *before* they were baptised. Thus water-baptism and Spirit-baptism are not necessarily united. Nay, throughout Holy Scripture we find more frequently that the Spirit was granted after baptism than before or during it. But we shall quote a plainer example, which irrefragably demonstrates that there, where water-baptism has not

reached, faith has been existent, and salvation obtained. The thief on the cross believed, and was the same day with Christ in paradise, and yet he had not been baptised with any outward baptism. From thence we learn that *baptism* is an outward ceremonial sign, to which salvation is not bound, as we have shewn in the example of the thief and others; also that they are not necessarily concurrent with one another, nor must of necessity be united. We shall here more closely consider the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It was an outward and an inward baptism at the same time. The latter is taught by John, in Matt. iii. 11, and Luke iii. 16: 'I indeed baptise you with water unto repentance: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Here, in the first place, we learn, that although John says, 'I baptise you with water,' he will by no means be understood to say that his office consisted alone in baptising with water. For could he have effected by water alone the knowledge of sin and repentance? One must be a very long time bathed in water ere he come to the knowledge of himself and repentance, or seek Christ as His Redeemer and Comforter. Therefore John will say nothing else here but, 'I am a weak vessel, which can only bring the doctrine outwardly to you, and give you the outward baptism of water, and am not so strong as to soften the heart; but He that cometh after me is much stronger than I: He is able to pierce into the heart, He will baptise you inwardly with His Spirit, inflame you with His love, or endow you with tongues,' &c. &c. The baptism of the Spirit is nothing else than that of which Christ speaks, John vi. 44: 'No man can come to me except the Father draw him.' And what the drawing signifies, He immediately shews in the words, 'Every man that hath heard and learnt of the Father cometh unto me.' Thus the inward baptism of the Spirit is nothing else than the teaching which God causes our *hearts* to experience, and the drawing whereby they are comforted and assured in Christ. This baptism none can administer but God, nor can any be saved without it; but a man can be saved without doctrinal baptism, and without water baptism. Proof: the thief on the cross was neither outwardly taught nor baptised, and yet was saved. It thus follows, that faith is the alone necessary condition which saves us who hear the Word

preached; and this no man plants within us but God alone. The other baptism of the Spirit is an outward sign, namely, *the miracle of tongues*. This sign is not given for the sake of those who speak with foreign tongues or languages, for they have been already inwardly assured of salvation; but for the sake of the unbelievers. What unbelievers? Those to whom the gift of tongues was communicated? No, for they were believing. But they were granted to the believing, as a sign and a wonder to the unbelieving. This outward baptism of tongues the Lord himself hath promised, Acts i. 5: 'Ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.' Now they had already become believers, but the fire of love was increased, and the tongues granted, when the words of Christ were fulfilled at Pentecost. This sign is not necessary to salvation, for it was vouchsafed to few, and but rarely, (Acts ii. 3; x. 46; xvi. 31); it was a miracle, and was done, like other miracles, *when God willed*. Thus, by the mouth of the Son of God himself, the miracle of tongues is called a baptism. As now this sign sometimes took place before, sometimes after, water-baptism, in all fairness of reasoning doctrinal baptism may be likewise communicated before or after water-baptism."

Here the Anabaptists objected: Christ says, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," &c. It is plain from this passage that mankind are to be taught before they be baptised.

Zwingli: Through these words ye very far deceive yourselves and others, looking wholly to the succession of the words, and obstinately crying: Christ says, "Teach and baptise them." In the first place, look at the words which immediately follow, "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you;" for from thence we learn that baptism is a commencing sign, and that then only *after* it has been communicated is the teaching of all the things which Christ commanded to take place. As, however, you lay so great weight on the literal succession of the words, "Teach and baptise them," I, for my part, am willing, for your sakes, to stand to it. "Teach all nations and baptise them," say ye, and I say, "Baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching

them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Now, I say, which of us, you or I, gives the plainer word in respect of *teaching*. You have, indeed, "Teach all nations, and baptise them;" on the other hand, ye have not *what* should be taught. We express it plainly, "Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you;" and this stands *after* baptise. Moreover, the passage in the Greek runs very differently from the way in which you interpret it; for what we translate by "teach" is, in the original, "Make to disciples" (*μαθητευσατε*), or, "Bring to me as to a master." Accordingly, the passage in the Greek text runs exactly so, "*Go ye, make all nations my disciples, baptising them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.*" See now if the literal succession of the words does not much rather speak for us, although I do not so obstinately cleave to the letter, for the letter of the gospel may not less kill than the letter of the law. I know, however, in the faith which I have to God, and, according to my understanding, small though it be, of the Word of God, that this is the right true natural sense; for Christ previously said, at the calling of His disciples, "He would make them fishers of men." What does that, however, signify, but the bringing men to Christ? But I shall not contend farther in respect to the position and sense of the words. I would only shew you that is in vain that with these you undertake to do away infant-baptism. For, even although the words were interpreted in your favour, they have no bearing at all on the baptism of children, so that they may not be baptised before the doctrinal baptism. The Jews and heathens were to be made disciples of Christ by doctrinal and water-baptism, but the children of believers belong already to the Church of Christ, as also the children of the Israelites belonged to the people of God.

Anabaptists: If these words have no reference to children, then they ought not to be baptised, because Christ has here instituted baptism.

Zwingli: Here you err again, because you do not know the Scripture, nor rightly understand it. (Matt. xxii. 29.) Baptism was not here first instituted; for Christ baptised a long time previous to this through His disciples, and He himself was baptised

before this ; consequently, it must have been instituted at some earlier period. Wherefore, observe, baptism was instituted by God through John, who, for this reason, is called "The Baptist." "Behold," says God, through Malachi, chap. iii. 1, "I will send my messenger, and he will prepare the way before me." This messenger, or angel, is no one else but St. John the Baptist. (Mark i. 4.) John, however, when he came, baptised, as appears plainly from all the gospels. But if he came to make plain and prepare the way of the Lord, and baptised, then it is evident he has begun the baptism of the Lord.

Anabaptists: The baptism of John and the baptism of Christ were not one and the same, but they are different baptisms ; for the baptism of John was but a prefiguration or foreshadowing of the baptism of Christ.

Zwingli: I know that you have not only the papists but all the divines, too, for your assertion. But with the strong, invincible Word of God which is on my side, I trust to shew that ye are all in the wrong. That the baptism of John and the outward baptism of Christ were the same the already quoted passage from the prophet Malachi shews. For if John had another baptism than that of Christ he had not begun to prepare the way of the Lord, but he had made a *way of his own*, which, however, was contrary to the way of the prophets. These have alone led to God and His work ; of themselves have they begun nothing new or different. When, however, ye maintain that the baptism of John is but a type of that of Christ, ye do violence and injustice both to Christ and John. To Christ, because you regard not what He says, Luke xvi. 16: "The law and the prophets were *until* John ; since that time the kingdom of God is preached," &c. Now, if the law and the prophets continued till John, and since that the kingdom of God is preached, then John with his baptism could have been no type or shadow ; for it is clear from the statement of Christ that *John preached the kingdom of God*, i.e., *the gospel* ; consequently, he began the baptism of Christ as he began the doctrine of his kingdom. For how can it be said that his doctrine was the light and his baptism only a shadow of a future baptism ? To John you do violence and wrong in making him a shadow, and counting him to the Old Testament, he being, according to the order of God, a preacher of the gospel,

preaching and revealing it so plainly as no prophet ever did, and he being the first who pointed to the Lord Jesus Christ when the time of His revelation came, as it is said in John i. 29-31: "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me. And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptising with water." From these verses we learn plainly that John came to reveal Christ to the people of Israel; therefore he was no shadow-maker, but a revealer of the Redeemer of the whole world.

Anabaptist: John himself calls his baptism only a water-baptism; but the baptism of Christ is not a water-baptism alone, consequently the baptism of John and of Christ cannot be the same.

Zwingli: Had you opened your ears wide enough you had long heard the answer to this objection. Did John only baptise with water? No. Then know and understand that when here he speaks of baptising with water he does not mean the dipping in or besprinkling with water alone, but he means also his doctrine; for, by a water-baptism, he could not teach them to recognise Christ. Therefore he specially understands here, when he speaks of baptising with water, the doctrine; this he so administered, that he taught them to recognise Christ, and to place their hopes upon Him.

Anabaptist: It is impossible that the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ are one and the same; for John could not baptise with the Holy Ghost, as He himself says, Matt. iii. 11, But Christ baptised with the Holy Ghost.

Zwingli: Be grateful that, like the fox, you yourselves bring the skin. Tell me, when the disciples baptised, or when one now baptises, with what does one baptise? With the Holy Ghost, or with water? You must acknowledge that the disciples and all men administer nothing but the outward baptism of doctrine and of water, and that they are not able to baptise inwardly with the Holy Spirit. Tell me now if the baptism of the disciples were the baptism of Christ, for ye will have it that your baptism is that of Christ? But if John administered the baptism of water and of doctrine just as the disciples did, how much more is the baptism

of John nothing but the baptism of Christ, he having been, according to the order of God, a founder of the doctrine and of the baptism? The baptism, however, which Christ received from John himself proves, in the clearest manner possible, that John's and His own baptism were the same. Christ has been baptised as a pattern and example for us, you must admit. Now, if Christ was baptised with the baptism of John as an example for us, we likewise must be baptised with John's baptism. The baptism, however, was not John's but Christ's, although the ignorant then, as in our own day, called it the baptism of John, although it was just as little his as the baptism performed by Paul, or Cleophas, or Apollos, were theirs, and which Paul repudiated as his, and would by no means suffer to be called his, 1 Cor. i. 12. If, then, Christ, together with the apostles, were baptised unto John's baptism, there cannot, in truth, be more than *one* baptism, and if we be baptised according to the example of Christ, then we must of necessity be baptised by John's baptism. There is but *one baptism*, which John began, and which continues to the present day. And if the baptism with which John baptised should not last to all eternity, then neither Christ nor the apostles were baptised with the right baptism. Away, then, with such futile objections. Paul exhorts the Ephesians, chap. iv. 5, 6, with great propriety, to unity, for they are, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Annihilate this passage of Paul's, if you can, ye baptism-splitters. If John has taught *one* Spirit, gathered into *one* body, taught only *one* hope in Christ Jesus, only *one* faith, only *one* God and Father, as Christ and the apostles, why allow not his baptism to be *one baptism* with the one baptism of Christ. God give you understanding!

Anabaptist: The doctrine of John and that of Christ and the apostles were different, for John preached the law and repentance, Christ and the apostles, on the other hand, preached the gospel. The doctrine thus being different, the baptism of John was different from the baptism of Christ.

Zwingli: In substance John preached the gospel, as Christ himself and the apostles; although I know well that Christ's preaching was more powerful, more beautiful and stronger than that of any other man, Matt. vii. 29. Mark describes the com-

mencement of Christ's preaching in the following words, Mark i. 14, 15: "Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel." But John also made the same announcement, as Matthew relates in the following words, chap. iii. 1, 2: "In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Here it must be well observed that the gospel has two parts: the one consisting of repentance and amendment of life; the other of confidence to God through the Lord Jesus Christ. So Christ himself taught; Luke xxiv. 47: "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." The gospel indeed is sometimes designated by the word "repentance" alone, as in Acts xi. 18: "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." Christ, however, can alone raise the Spirit to life, for although we feel repentance, yet we have not peace of soul; but when we believe on Christ, then it is we first experience joy and life. Sometimes Scripture terms the pardon of sin the gospel, as in Acts x. 43: "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." Here the gospel is called the remission of sins. We have thus found that John preached the gospel, that is, the one part of it, faithfully, therefore ye ought not to exclude him from the list of Evangelists or preachers of the gospel, since, where it is said repentance is preached, the whole gospel is meant, as has been proved above. So Mark says, chap. vi. 12: "And they went out and preached that men should repent." But even although we leave this distinction out of sight, yet we can prove that John preached the gospel as clearly as any apostle. In John i. 29, he says, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." Here is the whole sum of the gospel, in so far as it means the grace of God by which Christ the Lamb of God taketh away the sins of the world. Shortly after, he says, "And I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God." This is, however, the very confession of faith on which Christ builds his Church, Matt. xvi. 16-18. Christ teaches oftentimes through parables that He is the true Son

of God, and that he who believes on Him has eternal life, as in John iv., vi., vii., &c. Because it is expressed in parables, is it less the message of the grace of God? I think not. If I shew, then, that John preached the very same doctrine, it is, I hope, proved that John, not less than the other messengers, preached the gospel. Go and read what he says to his disciples and the Jews, who came to Him about purification, concerning Christ, John iii. 27-36, especially the two last verses: "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." What apostle has called Christ Jesus more plainly the Son of God into whose hands the Father hath committed all things? Who has, in a clearer and shorter form, expressed the whole sum of the gospel than the God-commissioned baptiser has done in this address? What is this: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned?" Mark xvi. 15, 16. Is it not even the same? Paul says, Acts xix. 4: "John verily baptised with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." Is it not the gospel when sinners are taught to repent and amend their ways? As he, however, who feels repentance would, without hope, have fallen into despair; God sent His Son to be our comfort, and the sure pledge of our redemption. To Him John pointed very distinctly. He testified that this is the Son of God, John i. 34. He said: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life," John iii. 36. Is not this the fundamental and clear gospel? Accordingly, the doctrine of John, of Christ, and the apostles, is *one and the same* doctrine, and proclaims the salvation of all men through Christ Jesus. Him John preached as *the coming*, he pointed to him also as *the present* Saviour, as did also the apostles. Turn to Matt. x. 7; Mark vi. 12; Luke x. 9. They also preached the kingdom of God, the salvation through Christ, although He was not yet crucified; and Christ proclaims himself as the Saviour, although He had not yet suffered death. This, I say, that ye dividers of baptism may not assert John preached only *the coming* Christ, the apostles and we preach the slain

Redeemer. For he preached even as Christ himself and His disciples preached. Thus the doctrine of John is the same as the doctrine of Christ, as his baptism is one and the same with the baptism of Christ.

Anabaptist: If the baptism and doctrine of John were the same with the baptism and doctrine of Christ, how comes it that the apostle Paul *rebaptised* those twelve disciples of John, who had only received John's baptism, Acts xix. 1, &c.? Does not this passage clearly prove our assertion that those are to be baptised again who received baptism before they were properly instructed? Does it not clearly shew that John's baptism is less than Christ's baptism?

Zwingli: That the doctrine and baptism of John are the same with the doctrine and baptism of Christ, we have already sufficiently established and proved, and this passage from the Acts makes nothing against our proof if we will only rightly understand it. The matter here referred to is as follows: Apollos was a very learned Jew, as we learn from Acts xviii. 24, but instructed only in the elements of the Lord's doctrine, ver. 25. The little which he knew of the doctrine of Christ he had learned from John or his disciples, not from Christ or his disciples. Hence it is said he only knew the baptism, or much rather the doctrine of John, (for baptism here stands for doctrine.) He knew, however, the doctrine of John as imperfectly as he knew the doctrine of Christ, for had he understood the full sense of the doctrine of John, he would have known essentially the gospel. Now so much as this Apollos knew he taught faithfully and zealously, Acts xviii. 25; Aquila and Priscilla having, however, come to him, they taught him the way of the Lord more fully. Mark this, that that which he previously called the "baptism," he now calls the "doctrine," ver. 27. By this Apollos the twelve men in question, chap. xix. 1, &c., were instructed. Now as he himself knew not the way of the Lord fully, the twelve without doubt knew it still less; for it cannot easily be supposed that they surpassed their Master, who was so well versed in the Scriptures. On Paul's coming to Ephesus, where Apollos, who had from thence sailed for Achaia, had taught before him, Paul began, according to his custom, to preach the gospel. There met him the twelve, who gave themselves out as disciples of Christ.

After Paul had convinced himself of their deficient knowledge, he inquired of them whether they had received the Holy Ghost, *i.e.*, whether they stood right with God, and whether their hearts were comforted. (He made no inquiry about the tongues, such not being necessary to perfectness in the gospel.) They then manifested their ignorance, and confessed they had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. Paul then asked them unto what then they had been baptised, *i.e.*, what had been taught them, unto what they had been directed in the doctrine communicated to them. They refer to nothing either in the doctrine of John, or in the doctrine of Christ, but simply name the teacher whose doctrine they yet did not fully understand. Just as in the present day some land-lopers say they are Lutheran or Evangelical, although they have nothing evangelical either in doctrine or life about them; they but fatten upon the godly without working. Not that I mean to compare these twelve honest men, in regard to the deception practised, to such knaves, except in so far as disinclination is concerned, to admit their ignorance manifested in their giving themselves out as Christians and disciples. Paul, on discovering this desire to cloak their ignorance, told them that which they themselves did not know, namely, that John baptised with the baptism of repentance. Mark here if *baptism* and *baptising* can be anything else but *doctrinating* and *indoctrinating*. Accordingly, the sense of the passage quoted by you is the following: John taught the doctrine of repentance, and through it also the assurance of grace (thus the two parts of the gospel), and exhorted the people to believe on Him who should come after him, that is, on Christ. It cannot, however, be proved that the twelve men had anywhere received water-baptism, for we cannot find that Apollos gave them the baptism of water, we only know that he zealously taught, as far as he was able, the *baptism* of John, (here the word is plainly used in the sense of doctrine,) Acts xviii. 25. John taught, and at the same time baptised with water. Christ taught, His disciples baptising with water. And if this Apollos had been baptised with water, Luke would not have omitted mentioning it. It is, however, highly probable that these twelve received from Apollos instruction in the elements of Christian doctrine. For Luke means to shew, when he tells us that

Apollos had been in Ephesus, and but imperfectly taught that Paul first planted the doctrine of Christ in Ephesus. By Aquila and Priscilla still less were they baptised; for they were so well and clearly instructed in the gospel that they taught Apollos more fundamentally. Or, if we should maintain that the twelve had been baptised by Aquila and Priscilla, then the disciples of Christ baptised previously to instruction, in which case we had in respect of baptism completely got the better of you. It is therefore clear and manifest that these men had not been baptised by Apollos, and also that *baptism* here signifies *doctrine*. If it is evident, then, that Apollos did not baptise with water, and that Paul does not speak here of baptism by water, why do ye then, O! ye ignorant unintelligent teachers of the people, and rioters, rebaptise under the colour of this passage in the Acts (chap. xix. 1 and following), rebaptism being, in verity, contrary to Christ. Christ says, John xiii. 15: "I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you." And as He has been an example to us in everything, that we should shape our actions according to his pattern, neither dare we administer baptism otherwise than he has had it administered on himself. Christ, however, was baptised with the baptism of John, as also the apostles, and neither He nor the apostles were again baptised. Nor may we let ourselves be again baptised.

Anabaptists: We baptise ourselves now, because we do not know whether we have been baptised or not.

Zwingli: What are your names?

The Anabaptists give their names.

Zwingli: Know you not that Christians receive their names at baptism? Have you then no god-fathers? And have they not told you that you were baptised?

Anabaptists: Yes; but we do not know whether we have been baptised or not; for granting that, as infants, we have been baptised, this took place at such an age that we could not know it, and therefore we must receive baptism now that we may be assured of it.

Zwingli: Do ye know, then, that ye have been born of your own mothers?

Anabaptists: Yea.

Zwingli: You could know this of your own knowledge just as little as that you were baptised.

Anabaptists: But although we have been baptised, it is the Pope's baptism we have received, which has been defaced and falsified by superstitious additions, so that we have not been rightly baptised. Therefore we must, first of all, receive the right baptism.

Zwingli: The true formula of baptism is: "*I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" Therein all teachers of the church agree, and herein we are at one with the papists. You also admit this to be the right form of baptism. Now tell me, if baptism, performed with these words, could be falsified by anything antecedent, nay, by perverse, superstitious prayers, and foolish mummary. If you reply, Yes, then, in your opinion, the devil is stronger than God, if God's work can be annihilated by the devil's power. If you say, No, then the baptism of Christ has not been falsified, and we have gained the day already; for you and we have been, at a former time, rightly baptised. Why, then, do ye harrass and disquiet pious Christians with such groundless and frivolous assertions? We have been all baptised, and, in truth, rightly baptised; for every woman can baptise herself. What is of highest importance is, that we become *new men*, that we pass under the cross of Christ, that we die, and be dead daily at once; for the flesh continues to send forth its suckers, which must be without intermission pruned and cut off. This all takes place through the strength of God, which He, through His grace, causes to dwell and work in us, but not through rebaptism or anabaptism, which has not the slightest foundation in the doctrine of Christ, but is quite contradicted by it. Baptism is an image of the death of Christ, Rom. vi. 4. Now Christ has died once, and cannot die any more. As now, they sin grievously against God who pretend they offer Christ daily; because once offered on the cross, He took away thereby the sins of the whole world to all eternity; they also sin grievously who crucify Him again with their second baptism, and despise the significance of his resurrection. He has risen only once, we also should be but once raised from baptism, and from thence our lives long live no more to sin.

Anabaptists: Children are nowhere in Scripture commanded

to be baptised, nor is it anywhere said that Christ or the apostles baptised children. Infant baptism, then, not being founded or commanded in the Word of God, but an invention of the Pope, or the devil, it ought to be done away with as an abuse, as other papistical abuses have been done away with.

Zwingli: But it is nowhere commanded in Scripture that the inhabitants of Calcutta should be baptised, nor do we find that Christ or the apostles baptised any one in Calcutta, and yet we baptise now in Calcutta, and do rightly therein; for they also, as all people, are to be made disciples of Christ, we baptising them, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever Christ has commanded. Farther, it is nowhere said in Scripture that women were present at the supper of Christ; nor have we an express command of Christ to admit them to the Eucharist, and yet we allow women to partake of the Lord's Supper, and are right in so doing; for it would be quite contrary to the will of God to exclude them. Therefore let no man thus judge: Christ has not baptised children, therefore we ought not to baptise them. In respect of outward things, many things are not expressly mentioned in the Word of God which yet with God we do.

Anabaptists: You have ever defended yourself against the Papists with the asseveration, what is not founded in God's Word holds not, and now you say: "There are many things not in the Word of God, which yet with God may be done." Where is now that word of power with which you vanquished the Suffragan Bishop Faber and all the monks? "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." (Matt. xv. 9; Isaiah xxix. 13.)

Zwingli: What I have ever said, that I shall say till death, nor will you ever discover that I have said aught but one and the same thing. Therefore weigh better the sense of my words. They have no reference to what you lay to my charge, for I speak of outward elementary things, for which we have no express command, but which we yet observe with God. Thus, in respect to the Supper or Eucharist, here we have a distinct institution, and a clear intimation that it is a *commemoration*, and nothing more can be made of it, although the whole host of Papists were to lose their senses upon it. Its *commemorative-ness*, however, is not such an elementary, *i.e.*, such an outward

thing that it were uncertain, and that it might be given out to be a *sacrifice*; for it has its distinct definition, and the ground-idea of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews concerns it. The element, however, or outward thing, that women likewise should celebrate the commemoration, is nowhere to be found in any passage of Scripture. Yet we do rightly when we admit them to the Supper. In the name of God hold the same language in regard to infant baptism. If God has commanded to baptise, don't say, "But not the children." Why do ye make a difference in mankind? Are children men too, or are they not? If they are mankind, then you must grant they are to be baptised, seeing we can make no difference in mankind between old and young, man and woman.

Anabaptist: The man that is to be baptised must first be instructed, and have faith; an infant cannot have it, and consequently may not be baptised.

Zwingli: Prove me this by a clear passage of Scripture.

Anabaptist: In Matt. xxviii. 19 it is written: "Teach all nations, baptising them," &c. Here Christ himself commands us first to teach, and then baptise.

Zwingli: I have already proved that the Greek text does not admit of such a sense being put upon this passage, and that it has not the meaning which ye would extract from it; for it is to this effect: Make all nations my disciples, baptising them, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Since ye will again wrest the sense of the passage, it is clear that you are only waging an empty war of words, which Paul forbids. (1 Tim. vi. 5.) To the partaking of the Supper or commemoration of Christ's death, unconditional faith is to be demanded, in accordance with 1 Cor. xi. 28: "But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." On the other hand, it is nowhere said that one is to examine himself before baptism. Without doubt the divine providence of God has not demanded examination before baptism, inasmuch as it knew that believing Christians would furnish their children with the sign of children of God, as this was done under the Old Testament by circumcision.

Anabaptist: What God wills that we should do, He has expressly commanded in His Word. He has, however, nowhere

commanded infant baptism, and Christ and His apostles have never practised it; it is therefore an invention of men, or of Satan, and thereby we abide. If you will establish the legitimacy of infant baptism, do it by the Word of God; for we desire God's Word, and not man's word.

Zwingli: If in regard to outward things of eternal observance, about which there is no clear and distinct announcement in the New Testament, a dispute arises, we are in this case to turn from the doctrine of Christ to Moses and the prophets, that he may not blame us like the Sadducees: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures," Matt. xxii. 29, and that we may learn from the Word of God what ought to be done. Thus, for example, *marriage* is an outward rite of eternal observance; yet the New Testament contains no prescription as to how it is to be performed, although we find such in Numbers xviii. It is a like case with infant baptism. We admit that in the New Testament there is no express command that children are to be baptised, much less, however, is there any prohibition of it. When God made the covenant with Abraham, He gave him circumcision as a covenant-sign for the sake of his posterity, as it is said in Genesis xvii. 7, &c.: "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee," &c., &c. Circumcision was performed on the eighth day after birth. Circumcision, however, was an obligatory sign, and Abraham and his whole posterity were to circumcise their children, for the reason that they might have the God of Israel pointed out to them as Him in whom Abraham believed, as God afterwards commanded by Moses, Deut. xxxi. 11, 12, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing: "Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law." Thus the covenant commenced with the outward sign which God really commanded, because He knew well what would follow if it were neglected. What God, however, has spoken and commanded, has always a good object, although we may not know the exact reason for which He commanded it. In the present case, let us observe well from the diligence with which God inculcated the command, how he provided that the children, even from the cradle, should be led

to himself, upon whom Abraham trusted, and to whom the child was obligated by the external sign that it might not, through the carelessness or unbelief of its parents, or by the instrumentality of heathenish people, be led away to idolatry ere it came to be properly instructed. Now, in the New Testament economy, baptism has entered into the place of circumcision, with the difference that circumcision obligates to God under the covenant of the law ; baptism, indeed, likewise to God, but through Christ to God under the covenant of grace. Here I refer to what Paul says of circumcision and of baptism, Colos. ii. 10-12, where he calls circumcision "a burial in baptism." The sense of these words is: Ye were, then, when ye put off your sins, circumcised with the circumcision which is without hands; for ye were not less than they visibly circumcised, but with the circumcision of Christ, which, through the washing with water, signifies the same as circumcision. Therefore, ye are buried with Christ in baptism that ye may die unto sin. Now "the dying unto sin," and "the circumcision from sin," is one and the self-same thing, which, in the one case, is signified by outward circumcision; and in the other, by baptism, and therefore he calls baptism our circumcision. Hence it is evident that baptism in the New Testament has come into the place of circumcision in the Old. Again, as to what regards the origin of infant baptism, there is in my mind no doubt that it was begun, as Augustine* says, at the time of Christ and the apostles, although no mention is made of it in express words. For in regard also to the commemorative Supper of

* Augustine, the famous Father, and Bishop of Hippo, (born A.D. 354, died A.D. 430,) says in his book against the Donatists, (an anabaptistical sect of his time,) "as in the murderer (the thief on the cross) salvation was accomplished, although baptism could not be applied, (yet spiritually, it was not wanting through faith,) so also by baptism salvation is effected." Such is the belief of the church general in reference to infants who are baptised, who truly have not yet believed with the heart unto righteousness, nor confessed with the mouth unto salvation, which the murderer could do; on the contrary, when the sacrament is performed upon them, they oppose the words spoken in baptism by their cries, and yet no Christian will assert they are baptised in vain. If, however, a divine recommendation of this ordinance be demanded, (although that which the universal church believes, not appointed by any Council, but everywhere, and at all times observed, may justly be regarded as having been ordained by the apostles,) we may truly learn what the baptism of infants signifies by looking to the circumcision of the former people.

Christ, there is nothing said by any evangelist or apostle as to how it was ordered according to the institution of Christ, except by Paul, and by him only in 1 Cor. x. 16, and following; and xi. 20, and following. For although in Acts ii. 42, we find that bread was broken, we do not find in what manner or order it was done. If the Corinthians had not abused the Supper, we should have had no place in Scripture from whence we could learn how it had been kept. Now I say the same with respect to infant baptism. Although it is not described or stated in express words, yet it is from various intimations in the Word of God to be concluded that they also, with the general multitude who were baptised, received baptism; surely the women and children were fed with the rest, yet they are not counted, Matt. xiv. 21. We shall now quote some proofs for our view. In Matt. xix. 13-15, Luke xviii. 15-17, there is the narrative which Mark x. 13-16 gives in the following words: "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."

In the first place, they are blamed who forbid little children to be brought to Christ; are those not to be blamed who forbid them to be baptised? For if theirs is the kingdom of God, why should the sign of the people of God be denied them? As Peter said, (Acts x. 47,) when he saw that Cornelius with his whole family had received the Holy Ghost: "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" so must I likewise say in regard to infants: Who will forbid them water when we see that they are God's as well as we who believe?

Anabaptist: Is it, however, said that Christ baptised the children, when it is related that He took them up in His arms and blessed them?

Zwingli: Who says it? I quoted the passage for two reasons; one you have heard; Are they God's? who will forbid them water,

the sign of God's people? The other is, that I may show by these words what care and zeal the parents manifested in thus bringing their children to Christ; and seeing this, we can, with no semblance of truth suppose, that they had not their children baptised, although this be not stated in express words. The Jews looked more to outward things than any other people, for which they were reproached by Christ, John iv. 48; Luke xi. 29; and by Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. Thus it may, with all safety, be assumed that they let themselves as well as their children be designated by baptism. When, therefore, of a whole company or of a whole household it is related that they had been baptised, it may be assumed with all probability that there were children also among them, and that these also were baptised.

Anabaptist: In Acts ii. 37, 38, it is written: "Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Can these have been children whom Peter's sermon so pricked in heart? Have infants asked, "What shall we do?" Has Peter recommended children to repent?

Zwingli: And if ye went to unbelievers at this day—but that you do not do, although you all say that you are sent by God to preach, but you go only to those regions where the gospel has been already planted, and there you destroy by your anabaptism what was formerly built up in peace—if, however, you went, you would without doubt baptise only those who understood your preaching and received it. When these believers, however, had been well and rightly instructed in the nature of the ordinance, they would, without doubt, attach their children to Christ by the sign even from the cradle.

The commencement of baptism in the times of the apostles is described, as in all histories, without any particular mention of children, although they may have been present, as we have seen in the narrative of the miraculous feeding they really were. Nor is it inconsistent with the sense in Acts ii. 41 that children were baptised, for all that is said, "they were pricked in their heart," "what shall we do," and "repent," is quite applicable to a com-

pany in which there was a mixture of women and children, although the men only who understood the word, and whom it in the first instance concerned, spoke, the women and children not speaking. For the children, although they did not believe, belonged not less to the number of believers than the fathers themselves; since among the Jews, the family was counted to the father by every census which God commanded. Nor in consequence of the circumcision in which they formerly walked could they have any other view than that they should now *baptise* their children as they formerly *circumcised* them. Paul gives us a farther proof in favour of this view, in 1 Cor. x. 1, where he says, "All our fathers were under the cloud," plainly understanding by "fathers," all the people with the women and children. They also all "passed through the sea," "were all baptised to Moses in the cloud and in the sea," although the women and children are not particularly mentioned. The sense of this passage is, however, the following: Paul would exhort the Christians at Corinth not to place their dependence on outward things, and not to suppose that by these, and without a change of their sinful lives, they could be saved. Accordingly he says: "Ye might think, because ye have been baptised, and have partaken of the symbolical food of the Eucharist, that you were saved. It is not so. For our fathers had the sign even as well as we; and as we are placed under the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, so they also were under the cloud, and passed through the sea, they were nourished from heaven above, as our souls also receive comfort through Christ, in consequence of which consolation ye celebrate the holy feast of commemoration; yet, notwithstanding all this, they were punished by God for their sins. And although these miracles were but obligating signs of a prefigurative character, it will fare with us as with them if we seek our salvation through any external signs; for just the more did they trust on themselves from thinking of all the wonders which God had wrought in their behalf" I have cited this passage here, however, for the reason that the image of the cloud and of the sea signifies baptism, as Peter himself tells us. Now, this subjection to these signs took place before the children of Israel were brought under Moses, that is, were brought under the law, from which it may be readily seen that Paul looked upon bap-

tism as a common obligative sign for the whole people of God, for believers and their children. For as, in the one case, young and old together passed through the sea, and were under the cloud; so also in baptism, which was symbolised by the cloud and sea, *young and old without difference* are obligated and bound. We see thus from the custom of the children of Israel, and from the testimony of Paul, that infant-baptism must have been usual at the times of the apostles, which also the histories themselves prove, relating how the apostles baptised whole households. In 1 Cor. i. 16, Paul says: "And I baptised also the household of Stephanas," and Acts xvi. 15, say: "and when she, (Lydia,) was baptised, and her household," in which cases, it may, with safety, be assumed, that there were children in the household. It is in the same 16th chapter that mention is made of the jailor. He "said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptised, he and all his, straightway. And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God, with all his house." (Ver. 30-34.) Here there were, doubtless, children under the "all his," who would especially rejoice that their father had become a believer, and that he rejoiced in his faith. Thus the young especially rejoiced at the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, of whom He said, as the rulers, priests, and Scribes, called on Him to command them silence, "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." (Ps. viii. 2.) It is thus with good ground to be supposed that all believers directed their next care to their children, and bound them over to that same God, to the knowledge of whom they themselves had come. Therefore we do well and act rightly in binding our children to God and the Redeemer from their earliest years, according to the example of the old covenant and of the apostles, and in bringing them to him according to his invitation, the more especially as much that is good flows from infant-baptism. By this we may readily recognise the Divine wisdom in the vouchsafement of this outward sign. In the first place, it is beneficial for us to be early instructed in Christian doctrine and discipline. For this end the pastor ought, at certain seasons, to collect the youth, and faith-

fully instruct them in the elements of the doctrine of salvation. If this be not done, each may propagate his own errors among his children. This is of especial importance at the present time, when you, Anabaptists, manifest such reserve to all who contradict you that you forbid your children to go to the legally appointed evangelists or bishops to hear sermon. What will become of us if more sects arise? The other good effect of infant-baptism is, that the youth are necessitated from their first years to live as Christians, while their parents are placed under an obligation to instruct them in Christianity. Let it be supposed that children were not baptised before the sixteenth or eighteenth year, or even later, the consequence would be, that on your saying to your neighbour, "Why do you bring up your children in a manner so contrary to Christianity?" He would reply, "I don't know whether they will be Christians or not;" and the child itself could say, which in the petulancy of the young spirit would certainly occur often: "What have I to do with your warning? I can become a Christian or not." The third good effect of infant-baptism is, that it corrects remissness in religious education. Each would excuse his negligence in instructing his children from their earliest years, with the apology, "it is still soon enough." Nor would all men learn with the same ardour to know God, and to call upon Him as we even now find. For this reason we take god-fathers or sponsors, that, on the decease of father and mother, they may instruct the children in the doctrines of salvation.

These and other arguments Zwingli brought forward during the three days' Disputation on infant-baptism. In the estimation of all competent to judge they had the more weight, because the Anabaptists were unable to advance a single argument which would stand the test, in proof of their assertions. Instead of justifying, by Scripture, the innovation they moved for, they were obliged to confine themselves to certain subtle objections, which Zwingli always rebutted with a calm deliberation.

For example, an Anabaptist said: I would make it manifest, from the Word of God, that infant-baptism is an invention of Satan, but no man can understand me, except one who is without sin.

Zwingli: Do you understand it yourself?

Anabaptist: Yes, thank God.

Zwingli: Then you are without sin?

Anabaptist: Would to God that all men acknowledged their sins as I do. With this exclamation he withdrew, and had no desire to take any farther part in the Disputation?

Another said: Infant-baptism is an invention of the Pope; Nicolas II. has first introduced it.

Zwingli: Whence do you know this?

Anabaptist: I have read it in the Pope's book myself.*

Zwingli: Do you understand Latin, then?

Anabaptist: No.

Zwingli: How can you say you have read it in the Pope's book, when you are ignorant of Latin, and this book has not been translated into German? You, Anabaptists, maintain you do not lie, is this not lying? Moreover, Pope Nicolas II. lived about the year 1055, while we know, from the writings of Augustine, who lived about the year 400, after Christ, that, at his time, infant-baptism was generally customary, and that, in his opinion, it had been administered by the apostles. How, then, could Pope Nicolas II. first have introduced it?

Another came forward, and placing himself before Zwingli, and employing all the gestures of an exorcist, said, Zwingli, Zwingli, I conjure thee, by the living God, speak the truth.

With perfect composure Zwingli answered, I shall, and you shall hear it. You are a stupid, riotous boor, as silly a one as our lords have in the whole land. Amid universal laughter, the fanatic, who had boasted he would overcome Zwingli with a single word, slunk back into the crowd speechless.

Neither the subtleties of the learned Anabaptists, nor the quaint sallies of the narrow-minded fanatics among them could throw the Reformer for a moment off his guard; and, while he replied to the one with well-grounded solid learning, he worsted the other with his shrewd and pointed remarks, often with sarcastic wit. Zwingli had gained a complete victory, so that the Council, after the Disputation was over, published the following declarations: "The Anabaptists and their followers having, for three successive days, disputed in our Town-hall, and in the Great Minster, in our presence, and in the presence of the whole

* Under this name was understood the so-called "Decatolia," i.e., a collection of papal laws and rescripts. These were vulgarly called, "The Book of the Pope."

community, and each and every Baptist, without any hinderment, having spoken his quarrel, dispute, and opinion, it hath, from first to last, shewn itself by the true divine Scriptures, maintained by the strongest arguments, that Magister Huldreich Zwingli, with his followers, has completely overcome the Anabaptists, demonstrated the invalidity of Anabaptism, and, on the other hand, established the validity of infant-baptism. It hath also been rendered very evident by this Disputation that the ring-leaders and sectarists of Anabaptism have set up their doctrines out of an insolent, intemperate, and arrogant mind, and in no good spirit, thinking to draw to them a particular sect and faction, contrary to the command of God, to the despite of us, the temporal magistracy, to the implanting of all disobedience, and to the destruction of Christian charity between man and man; for they esteem themselves to be better than other men, and without sin, as their words and manners, works and gestures, clearly shew; considering which, we hereby command and enjoin all persons, man or woman, young man or maiden, to abstain from such Anabaptism, and we authorise infants only to be baptised. Given on St. Andrew's Day, 1525."

Manz, Grebel, Blaurock, and the other chief men of the sect, were called before the Council, and seriously exhorted to acknowledge their errors. But in vain; they obstinately persisted in maintaining them, nay, they found means to issue an address from prison, in which the Council now enclosed them, stimulating their followers to a new resistance to the above decree of the Council.

4. THE RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANABAPTISTS IN THE CANTON OF ZURICH.—THEIR COURSE AND END.

These repeated instigations to opposition against the civil authority were so much the more deserving of punishment, because, in the country district of Zurich, as well as in other parts of Switzerland, the flames of civil insurrection, which had already raged destructively in the so-called "peasant-war" in Germany, and had only been quenched in streams of blood, threatened to fasten on the doctrines of the Anabaptists. The districts on the Rhine were the first to feel the influence of this

insurrectionary spirit. Payment of legal dues and villanage were refused to the governor of Eglisau, and, upon his shewing a disposition to maintain the existing fish-rights, a mob collected, and set his authority at defiance. "Freely has God Almighty given," they cried, after the example of their German co-religionists, "the beasts of the wood, the birds in the air, and the fish in the running stream. The use of them belongs to the countryman, who must also bear the loss and damage they occasion." A deputy of the government, who meant to exhort them to order, was received with a shower of stones. The spirit of insubordination spread farther and farther. On the 23d April 1525, a swarm of riotous peasants broke violently into the cloister of Rueti, the abbot of which had previously escaped with the moneys, valuables, and documents, and gave themselves up to outrageous licence, and the wildest excesses. In contempt of the orders of the governor of Grueningen to go to their homes they pulled the alarm-bells, and thereby increased the number of their comrades. The whole host now rolled itself against the house Bubikon of the order of St. John, where riot and revelry began anew, and it was only with considerable difficulty that some deputies of the government who hastened thither succeeded in inducing the uproarious multitude to go home, there put in writing their complaints and wishes, and hand them in to the government.

From no less than five different communes petitions of grievances were delivered to the government, in which were demanded the dissolution of the subject-relation, (the petitioners regarding God alone as their Lord, on the other hand, their superiors in Zurich as only lords-protectors,) confiscation and application of the property of the cloisters for the benefit of the district in which they may lie, the right of every community to call and appoint their pastors, and, finally, abrogation and diminution of several imposts. One of these petitions concluded with the prayer: "May our lords of Zurich look well to the above matters, and consider our and the poors' need according to the Word of God. And if this should accord more, may our officers not be restricted from giving it." The Council investigated the reported grievances, and issued to the districts a very lengthened, instructive, and tranquillising answer. "We record," it is said, among other things, "our satisfaction that your petitions are not brought before us in

an intemperate spirit, (as is the fashion of the times,) and have, therefore, sat in Council upon your articles, examining all deeds, documents, contracts, letters, and seals, which we have against you and you against us, worthy people of the country-district, and we have weighed these, and *compared them with Holy Scripture*, the Word of God, as also have had special regard to the ebullitions which have everywhere manifested themselves of late. In regard, then, to your first article: "That you will only have God, our heavenly Father, for your Lord, us, however, for your temporal superiors; we opine that it requires no answer, it being self-evident; for, as God is the Lord and Saviour of us all, so are your lords of Zurich, in worldly affairs, in all townships, lordships, and governorships, your lawful and natural lords and superiors, having brought you under them with no force or violence of war, but by free purchase. Therefore let the matter so rest, for, if you obey God, and render to Him what is due, ye will in all things lawfully obey your lords and superiors, as God commands to obey Him and the magistracy." In this dignified Christian spirit the separate articles were considered; unjust burdens and grievances were removed; while the legality and necessity of various dues and services were clearly established. The answer concludes with the exhortation and the wish: "Now, dear friends, we have good hope that, after you have received our answer, you will be satisfied, and content yourselves, as you cannot but see that we have honourably and faithfully met your requests, and done more than enough; for it were neither becoming for us nor for you, that any one should refuse the magistrate, or any other, the obedience that is due to him in law and right. Consider likewise what hostility we and the whole province at present suffer from without, in that we cleave to the Word of God, and will have nothing to do with foreign princes. Live ye then, peaceably and obediently, in the discipline and in the fear of God, and do not, by riot and disobedience of your superiors, prepare for yourselves loss, and damage, and shame? But if any one among you instigate to rebellion and disobedience, set him right, and warn him to depart from such courses, that we both, in the town and in the country, may live together, according to the will of God, unitedly, and in obedience, both towards him and our lawful superiors, and may maintain that which God the Almighty

hath granted to our fathers, and us, their children, to our great glory, so that every one may see that we have good, faithful rulers, and we, on the other hand, good, faithful, and obedient subjects, and also, that we may, reciprocally with one another, pursue that which is conducive to piety, peace, and contentment. We, on our parts, engage to do and suffer all for you, as it behoves pious and honourable lords and superiors to do and suffer for their subjects. May the Almighty help us both, in our respective duties, with His divine grace."

These exhortations, which were read aloud, and explained and commented on orally by deputies of the government, in all the districts, met, at first, with no very favourable reception. Several communes announced that they would only give their answer after consultation with the others, in consequence of which, on Pentecost Monday, 5th June 1525, a meeting of the populace was held on a field near Toess, where about four thousand men were present. Nor here at first would they allow a deputation of the Council, headed by the burgomaster, to speak. "It is for us to order," cried the insurgents; "and we'll accustom the towners to walk a-foot, while we shall ride deputies." Gradually, however, the voice of duty and of fair play prevailed with the multitude, and a governor, Lavater, and others succeeded in obtaining a hearing. The rabble dispersed without having come to any resolution. Many of those who had taken part in the meeting were, on the home-going, invited by the citizens of Winterthur, and hospitably treated in their houses, when the events of the day were farther discussed. Many were thus brought to a better mind. Some errors prevailing on tithes, a public disputation was ordered to be holden on this subject, in which Zwingli again took a chief part. While the Anabaptists and the rioters denounced their exaction as contrary to law and justice, the town-clerk, am Gruet, whom we have already mentioned, as a zealous partizan of the Papacy, defended their legality, on the ground of the Levitical law. Zwingli was thus placed between two fires. Against the town-clerk, he maintained that the Levitical tithe-law, with the whole Levitical priesthood, and all dependent upon it, was abolished by the New Testament. Against the Anabaptists, he made it clear that the existing tithes had grown to be a legal debt, through sale and purchase, which debt must be discharged, according to human and divine law.

(Rom. xiii.) Above all, the tithes devoted to the support of public worship were absolutely necessary, inasmuch as, if not exacted, the expenses of worship must be defrayed by other impositions.

Both in sermons and writings Zwingli and his friends wrought with zeal and ardour to throw the light of the gospel round this subject, and Christian truth here proved itself to be a leaven penetrating the whole mass of the people, filling and governing the mass by its power. The insurrectionary and turbulent spirit of the Anabaptists, both in regard to things civil and ecclesiastical, having been completely exposed by the public disputation, and deprived of its baleful power, their proceedings fell into a general unpopularity, which immediately shewed itself in expressions of confidence in the government and its measures, addressed to it in answer to a renewed summons on its part. "Our persons and property," wrote Regenstorf, "dear sirs, we shall place at your disposal, so long as you continue to rule in a Christian spirit; for although we had some grievances to complain of, we have, on the other hand, borne in mind the lessons of the evangelists and apostles, which shew equally to you and to us how one part is to hold itself in reference to the other; and we gratefully recognise your love, your toil and trouble, and that you have removed from us some burdens. Continue to act towards us as affectionate fathers towards their sons; plant the good, root out the evil, as that which of itself cannot long endure."*

It was here also the power of divine truth which put an end to an insurgent spirit which had widely extended itself, and threatened to dissolve all civil order. The merit, however, of having effected this great good, next to the divine mercy belongs to Zwingli, who saw, with penetrating glance, all the exigencies of the occasion, who shaped the course of proceeding in the light and according to the prescriptions of the Word of God, and who, by the energy of his preaching and writings, bowed the hearts both of rulers and ruled under its sacred influence. After the Anabaptists had lost all authority and respect among the people, their chief men were, at Zwingli's advice and intervention, set at liberty,

* A single individual, "Suesstrunk," was beheaded by the sword for vituperations of the government, continued opposition to the laws, and excitement to rebellion.

with a serious admonition to amend their ways. They soon, however, began again to hold meetings, and to spread their doctrines among the credulous. Manz and Blaurock were accordingly again imprisoned, a fate which Grebel only escaped by a speedy flight. About the same time some followers of this sect perpetrated at St. Gall, where they were greatly on the increase, a deed of horror which opened the eyes of all to the dangers to be apprehended from these fanatics. In an out of the way house at Muehlegg, near St. Gall, there lived an octogenarian peasant, Schucker, with his five sons, who all, with the remaining members of the family, and the servants, had taken up Anabaptism. On Shrove-Tuesday, the 7th February 1526, many of the sect were assembled here. A calf was killed, and a feast made, the participants in which got so inflamed by the deep potations of wine in which they indulged, that, as Bullinger mentions, they spent the whole night amid extraordinary gestures, contortions, dialogues with each other, visions, and revelations. Towards morning, Thomas Schucker came up to his younger brother, Leonhard, with the gall of the calf in the bladder, saying, "Bitter as gall is the death thou shalt suffer. Kneel brother." Leonhard obeyed the summons. Thomas took up a sword, and with the words, "The will of the Father is accomplished," his brother's head rolled at his feet. All present shrunk back horror-struck, and fled from the fratricide. He, however, ran with the reeking sword, clad only in his shirt and trowsers, to the burgomaster, Dr. Joachim Vadian, and shouted in his ears, "I proclaim to thee the day of the Lord." The fanatic was taken into custody, and he was executed on the 16th February.

Universal indignation was expressed at this act of enormity, and the people vehemently called upon the government to put a stop, by measures of severity, to such disorders. Blaurock, as a foreigner, was whipped out of the town, and banished the land. Manz, and two Anabaptists from the country, on their refusing to make any recantation or promise of amendment, were put to death by drowning.* Zwingli had no share whatever in these proceedings, having, notwithstanding the attacks made upon him by the Anabaptists, always advocated the adoption of

* This punishment they suffered, not for their religious opinions, but for their obstinate resistance to the civil authority.

mild measures, because he would *alone* work through the light and the power of the Word of God, and through it alone disperse the mists of error. Indeed, the complete victory gained in Switzerland over the Anabaptists is to be ascribed to the use of this weapon. The contest, however, cost the Reformer, as he himself expresses it, more sweat than his fight with the Papacy; nay, he calls the latter, in comparison with this, but child's play. But sweat and toil were not here in vain. For the new church came out of this trial, purified and strengthened, and proved itself solid, like the house built by the wise man upon the immovable rock, against which the storm roared and the waves lashed in vain. Zwingli himself, in carrying on this contest, became only the deeper versed in the knowledge of the Word of God, while, at the same time, he was especially led, by his studies on the subject, to perceive the intimate connection subsisting between the Old and New Testaments.

In two quarters, however, the evil consequences of this strife of opinions made themselves visible, and opposed serious obstacles to the progress of the Reformation. On the one hand, this wild offshoot was, with mischievous joy, represented by the Papists as the natural consequence and fruit of the free preaching of the gospel, so that, on this ground, the enemies of the gospel succeeded in many places in suppressing it, and in stifling the thirst which had recently been awakened for its healing waters. On the other hand, these divisions exerted an injurious influence mediately on the farther development and conformation of the Reformation, by opening up a new source of dissension, the so-called "Supper-contest" between Luther and Zwingli and their respective friends and scholars. We shall now proceed to survey this important contest more narrowly, in so far as it concerns Zwingli.

5. THE DOCTRINE OF ZWINGLI AND OF LUTHER IN REGARD TO THE LORD'S SUPPER.—THE IDIOSYNCRASIES AND DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR MINDS.—ORIGIN OF THE STRIFE ABOUT THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The like contest which Luther had to carry on against the Anabaptists in Saxony, Zwingli had to maintain against the same enemy in Zurich, nay, the fanatics in Zurich, as it has been

above mentioned, borrowed their names and their party badges from their German co-religionists. While Luther was sojourning at the Wartburg, (from April 1521 till March 1522,) his colleague and former fellow-labourer in the work of the Reformation, Dr. Andrew Carlstadt,* had entered into connection with fanatics from Zwickau,† who boasted of direct revelations from heaven, who rejected infant baptism, and attacked and with infuriated ardour, sought to overthrow the existing order in church and state. Under the influence of these people, and hurried away by his ill-regulated zeal for reformation, Carlstadt endeavoured, in union with some heated spirits, especially from amongst the students, to revolutionise, in a turbulent and violent manner, which gave deep offence to many, the whole institutions of public worship. The Mass was suddenly abolished, and the Supper, without preparation of heart and confession of sin, administered in both kinds, the altars were cast down, the monks who shewed any disinclination to the new system of things were maltreated, and the images were thrown out of the churches. Luther, when he heard at the Wartburg of these riotous proceedings, repaired, trusting in the protecting arm of God, instantly to Wittenberg, and restored order by the power of his preaching, which he continued before a great concourse of people for eight days successively, and won over Carlstadt again to more wholesome labours in the service of the Church and the University. When Luther set his face against these violent attempts at reformation, he was not the less convinced of the necessity of abolishing, in the course of time, everything in public worship and ecclesiastical arrangements, which had a tendency to compromise the honour of God, and the merits of Christ, and thereby to do injury to the salvation of the soul. Like Zwingli,‡ he held it to be his chief commission

* His name was, properly speaking, Andrew Ralph Bodenstein; he is, however, generally called Carlstadt, after his birth-place of this name in Franconia.

† The so-called "Zwickau prophets." The most important members of this society were Nicolas Storch, a cloth-maker, Martin Cellarius, Marx Huebner, and the notorious Thomas Muenzer.

‡ Thus he speaks particularly in reference to images, in his preaching against the Anabaptists, during the first eight days after his arrival in Wittenberg. "Idols, they are called, on which the heart hangs like pears on a tree; of which there have been many among the heathen, and of which there are many at this day in the popedom; which are not simply looked at, but are looked at with confidence, such an image being regarded as a god, and heretics having worshipped such

faithfully to preach the Word of God, and leave it to the Lord to appoint the time and the hour when a reform for the weal of His Church should be undertaken. Among the ordinances of public worship which, in the Papal Church, had departed the widest from its original institution and import, to the great detriment of the salvation of souls, the Mass occupied the first place, which had usurped the place of the Supper appointed by Christ. Both the Reformers, accordingly, after they found in Christ salvation, and in the Word of God the true light, by which to prove and test all existing ecclesiastical ceremonies, were filled with a holy indignation against the false doctrine spread by the papists, "that the Mass is a sacrifice," the merits of Christ's sufferings being thereby depreciated, and the doctrine of the apostles, that a sacrifice for sin was made once for all by Christ, practically annulled;* both likewise recognised in the asseveration, which was the natural fruit of this doctrine, "that the priest, in the Mass, daily offers up Christ for the living and the dead," the grand source of the Church's corruption;† and both united in demand-

images in which confidence is placed. Such may be pulled down, but only by the lawful civil authority, for such images are not only looked at with the eye, but are looked at with devotion, with confidence, and adoration."

* *Zwingli*: The pretence of popery, that it offers up Christ for other men, it has itself invented. The pretence is without foundation in the Scriptures, and from it two impugnments of God, and two great crimes, have arisen. The first impugnment of God consists in this, that the worth and preciousness of the sufferings of Christ are darkened. Christ, who was true God and man, is of so great and infinite value, that His death, He being only once sacrificed, is rich and precious enough to pay for the sins of the whole world to all eternity. Now, popery giving out *its* sacrifice for sin, the matter stands thus; either Christ, by His suffering once for all, did not complete redemption, or redemption is no longer of avail. Both are impugnments of Christ. The other impugnment is, that no man can offer a greater sacrifice than *himself*, as Paul teaches, Rom. xii. 1; mark, this is the highest sacrifice which a man can offer, himself. Whoever pretends to offer Christ, takes the honour from Christ and gives it to himself. *Luther*: That Christ is offered in the mass is a blasphemy against God, and an enormity, and the worst sin which can be committed. Christ has been once sacrificed; now He requires nothing more but that we praise Him to all eternity. The sacrifice of Christ once made holds good for ever, and we are saved by believing on it. If anything is erected at the side of this sacrifice it is a blasphemy of God.

† *Zwingli*: The false opinion that the Mass is a sacrifice has implanted and encouraged every vice. For all robbers, usurers, traitors, murderers, adulterers, have had the opinion, if mass were said for them it was all right with them. And it cannot but be that such have been often led to commit sin on this very ground. It is very visible in the Masses they have paid for, and the benefices they have

ing that this sacrament should be brought back to the simple state in which it was instituted and exemplified by Christ,* and that the Supper should be administered in both kinds. With the conception of the sacrificial character of the Mass, there is closely connected the false doctrine adopted by the Papal Church through the resolution of a Church-Council, held at Rome, 1215, "that the bread and wine are changed into the real and essential body, and into the real and essential blood of Christ, by the priestly consecration at the Supper." In the conflict waged against this doctrine, the different intellectual peculiarities of the two Reformers, and their different intellectual visual powers, now in diametric opposition, now approximating very closely, arising from a difference in spiritual education and manner of life, made themselves felt so sensibly that these two great men, who stood upon one and the same foundation of faith, became involved in a gigantic contest that occupied them much till their deaths, and tore asunder the church, renovated by them, and placed by them on the one rock of salvation, Jesus Christ, into two mighty factions. We shall now direct our attention to the diverse views of the two Reformers upon this subject ere we proceed to the detail of the conflict itself which unhappily broke out between them.

From the standing-point of faith on God alone and his Word,

founded. Popery, however, had not enough in robbing the living of their money to discharge her masses; she brought the dead into the bill also.

Luther: From the moment that the Mass was proclaimed to be a sacrifice, from that moment the devil easily drew the money and property of all the world to himself, and, by the force of riches, he brought into the priesthood, avarice, ambition, pride, unchastity, all villany and baseness, to the total extinction of a true priesthood, till at length the world knew nothing more but mass-priests and their sacrifices, with which all men were deceived who weened that, by their money, they could obtain forgiveness of sins, and everlasting life.

* Zwingli's opinion on this point is well known, it having found currency and recognition in the Calvinistic Church. Luther expresses his sentiments in this manner: "The nearer our Masses come to the first *Mass* of Christ, the better without doubt they are, and the farther from it, the more dangerous. An effort is to be made above everything else, that we may safely and happily come to a true and right knowledge of this Sacrament, that all may be set aside which has been added to the first and simple institution of it by human devotion and zeal, such as *mass-robcs, ornaments, chanting, prayers, organs, candles*, and the whole pomp of visible things, and that we may turn our outward eye and our inward soul to the pure institution of Christ, and maintain nothing but the Word of Christ, by which He has ordained, instituted, and completed it."—WALCH, vol. xix. p. 35.

which Word must be held to explain itself, Zwingli had, at a very early period, arrived at the conviction that the transubstantiation doctrine of the Papistical Church is false, and that it has put an erroneous interpretation on the words of the institution of the Holy Sacrament, "This is my body," and "This is my blood," from which erroneous interpretation the false dogma is derived. Christ has, by His death on the cross, accomplished an eternal redemption and propitiation for our sins, of which we can alone be partakers through faith. To this propitiatory death the Holy Supper refers us, by the symbols of bread broken and wine poured out. The reality, i.e., the fruit, of the redemption and propitiation, we appropriate to ourselves alone by *faith*. Hence both the expressions, "eating the flesh of Christ," and "drinking His blood," are to be understood figuratively for "believing on Jesus Christ, who was crucified, and shed His blood for us." The bread broken and the wine poured forth into the cup make present to us, in a figurative sense, the crucified body of Christ, and His blood shed for us. He who, in true faith, partakes of these symbols in the Supper, *to him Christ is as near as if He were dying for him at that very moment on the cross*; for Christ, who is everlasting God, is omniscient at all times, and his sufferings are eternally fruitful. (Heb. ix. 14.)* In this sense, the Holy Supper has been given and appointed to be an eternal sign of the love of Christ, and its intention is to make present to us, as often as it is celebrated, Him who suffered for us on the wood of the cross in such a manner that, with *the eye of the soul*, we may behold Him alone, admire and *embrace Him with lively faith*. Now, just as certainly as this touching of Him by faith is far more precious than the touching even of His body, (for many have touched Him materially to their destruction, but no man has contemplated Him in faith in the above described manner without benefit,) just as certainly is it this contemplation and partaking alone which is required. While we are, by faith, assured of that which the symbols represent to us, that Christ has atoned for our sins, our soul is freed from the hunger of despair, and we are everlastingly quickened with the heavenly nourishment of God's love and grace." This view of the partaking of the Supper Zwingli conceived to be grounded on the words of Christ, John vi, in which

* Exposition of the Eighteenth Article of the Propositions.

Christ himself explains how the expressions, "eating his flesh," and "drinking his blood," are to be understood. Christ inculcates here, ver. 26, upon the Jews, who sought earthly food from Him, the necessity of labouring for heavenly food, which "endureth unto everlasting life," and He designates "himself," ver. 35, as "the bread of life which everlastingly quickens him who comes to him, and believes on him." In what manner He is the bread of life, He explains in the words, ver. 51, "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." This, my self-sacrifice, for sinners, will propitiate the world again to my Father, which propitiation is nothing else but a restoration to life; thereby, by my giving myself up, and dying, I become a food for souls, on which they may nourish their hopes, and be certain of the mercy of God; for how could the Divine mercy deny anything to poor sinful man, having given up the Son for him. Thus my flesh, in so far as it is killed, is a food, *i.e.*, a hope and consolation of the soul. When Christ says, ver. 54, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life," and in ver. 47, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life," it is clear that "eating His flesh" and "believing on Him" are *one and the same thing*, for if not there would be two different roads to salvation; the one *by the eating of His flesh*, and the other *by believing on Him*. It is thus of *faith*, and not of bodily *eating*, that Christ here speaks. This is still more clearly evident from the conclusion of his address, ver. 61-63. The Jews, not comprehending, or not being willing to comprehend, the gracious, though figurative, speech of Christ, and his disciples murmuring over the "hard saying," Christ adds, ver. 63, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you they are Spirit, and they are life." Can plainer words be used to repel the opinions and assertions, more froward than pious, that the substance of the bread is changed into *flesh*, or that Christ is bodily and essentially partaken of in the Supper, than these: *the flesh profiteth nothing!* That Christ is here speaking of His own flesh is clear, for it was this alone which was the subject of discourse, and this they had to eat, as they thought, which, for the Jews and the disciples, was a hard saying. But *how* does his flesh profit nothing? Plainly *for eating*, as the disciples understood His

words, and which foolish conception He would here dissipate. Otherwise, the flesh of Christ is of great, nay, of incalculable value, but *as slain, not as eaten*. *Slain* it has delivered us from death, but *eaten* it profits us nothing. He who is truth itself tells us this, therefore it must be so. "The words," He continues, "that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." What words? "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life," and, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." These words,—that Christ on the cross is our redemption and salvation, believed by us, and received into the depth of our hearts, procure for us everlasting life. These are the words that Christ spoke that are spirit and life. Another passage which Zwingli brought forward in proof that by "eating Christ" is to be understood "believing on Christ," he took from 1 Cor. iii. 4. Paul teaches here that they of old are just as worthy as we, having had the same God whom we have, the same Christ whom we have, although they set their hopes upon the promised, we upon the already come Messiah; yet God was displeased at them when they were disobedient. Among other things which he says they had not less than we, were "the same spiritual meat," and "the same spiritual drink." But it is undeniable that they neither ate the bodily flesh, nor drank the bodily blood of Christ, He not having become man till many hundred years afterwards. Therefore their *eating* must have been nothing else but their *believing* on Christ, who, at a future day, was to give His body, and shed His blood for them. If, however, they had "the same spiritual meat" which we have, as the apostle says, and they did not eat his body, or drink his blood, our eating of the body and drinking of the blood of Christ can be nothing but our believing on Him who died for us. In the light of these passages of Holy Scripture, Zwingli proceeded to an explanation of the words of institution. If the eating of Christ's flesh and the drinking of His blood signifies, according to the declaration of the Lord himself in the gospel of John, believing on Christ, and if He corrects the misconception of the disciples with regard to the bodily partaking of His flesh with the words, "the flesh profiteth nothing," the same phraseology in the words of institution must have the same sense as here, for Christ cannot possibly desire us to eat His flesh,

which he so distinctly states in John vi. profiteth nothing. The Word of God contains no contradiction of itself, but it exhibits a beautiful harmony throughout, if we but rightly understand it. Holy Scripture is replete with figurative language and expressions, and Christ employs such modes of expression, both when speaking of the doctrine of the kingdom and of His own person, as, "the seed is the Word of God;" "the field is the world;" "the harvest is the end of the world;" "I am the vine." These are all figures of speech of a similar form with "this is my body and this is my blood."

Just as Zwingli, after weighing the words of institution in connection with the above passages, had obtained the conviction that they were not to be taken literally, but figuratively, and was seeking for a fitting expression to make the image intelligible and comprehensible to every one, there came to him, in the summer of 1522, two learned men from Holland, John Rhodius and George Sagan,* with a treatise, in the form of a letter, from the Dutch lawyer, Cornelius Honius or Hoen, upon the words of the institution. Honius understood the words in a figurative sense, and he found the figure in the copulative "is," which he rendered by "signifies." This explanation of the figure pleased Zwingli extremely well, because it seemed to him at once to correspond with the sense, and to be simple and intelligible to every mind, and because it withdrew the chief foundation for the papistical transubstantiation-doctrine, which rested principally upon the strict literal sense of this small word.† Above all, however, Zwingli found himself compelled, by a regard to the context, to take the words of the institution in the figurative sense, and to explain "this is" by "this signifies." Luke relates the institution in the words, chap. xxii. 19, "And he took

* According to an account, the truth of which, from various hints in Zwingli's and in Luther's writings, appears to be in the highest degree probable, the two Dutchmen had first repaired to Luther, 1523, requesting him to intimate his concurrence in the contents of Hoen's letter. From anxiety lest a desecration of the sacrament might ensue, Luther declined the request, although Carlstadt urged him to comply with it. Hereon they came over Basle to Zwingli at Zurich, who found the views of Hoen correspondent with his own.

† The ever-repeated proof for the doctrine of Transubstantiation is contained in the words: "Christ said, This is my body, and this is my blood, consequently bread and wine are understood as changed into the real body and blood of the Lord, as often as the priest pronounces these words at the consecration."

bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me." Here we must not disjoin the words, "this is my body," and "which is given for you," but we must allow them to stand in their natural connection, which is, "this is my body which is given for you." From this it is clear that Christ speaks of His body, which was given up to death for us, and farther, that the bread is not this body, because if so, then a loaf of bread must have been given up to death for us. Christ points to the bread, and says, "This is my body which is given for you." Mark here how the words of Christ present the key to their own explanation in the little word "is," which must not be understood, as it stands between bread and body, in the literal, but in the figurative sense; therefore, the bread "signifies" my body which is given for you, or the bread is a sign of my body. But how does the bread in the Supper signify the body of Christ? To this I answer with Christ, inasmuch as it is "*given for us.*" Christ means by these words only to say that the bread is the sign that He hath given up His body to us for death, which His following words demonstrate, "this do in remembrance of me." Here we learn for what purpose the figure of bread has been appointed, namely, as a *memorial* of Christ, and that the bread is not the body of Christ, but signifies or *symbolizes* it, we, in breaking of bread *remembering* Him through the sign before us. Paul gives the words of the institution in 1 Cor. xi. 24, thus: "This is my body, which is broken for you." *Given* for you, and *broken* for you, signify the same thing, Paul here alluding only to the resemblance which lies hid in the transaction. The words in reference to the cup, Luke xxii. 20, gives thus: "This cup (cup for that which was contained in it) is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." That these words of Christ may be clearly seen, compare those given by Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 25, which are the same, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." The sense is shortly this: The cup is the new testament, which is sealed in my blood, shed for you. Here we see, first, that neither Luke nor Paul says the cup is the blood of Christ, from whence it is to be concluded that the other evangelists had no intention to speak differently from them. Although they say, "The cup (*i.e.*, the wine) is my blood," they mean to assert

nothing more than the cup is a sign, a signification, a memorial of the blood of the new testament which has been shed for us. To the objection that is here made, If the cup is the new testament, it is likewise the blood of Christ, for Christ's blood is the new testament, I reply: The blood of Christ is not the new testament, but the pardoning merciful remission of our sins, as in Jer. xxxi. 34, and Heb. viii. 12, 13, is the new testament; but the blood of Christ has obtained this remission. Hence it is clear that the blood of Christ is not the new testament, but the blood of the new testament, *i.e.*, the blood through which the new testament, to wit, the remission of sins, has been acquired. In the like sense, in the old testament, the blood with which the people and the book of the law were sprinkled, was called the blood of the testament, but never "the testament." Nor do we find that the blood of Christ is anywhere called "a testament," although it is called "the blood of the new testament." Now, if the cup here signifies the new testament, we must admit this only to be a figure of speech similar to that by which Moses calls circumcision the covenant, although it was but the sign of the covenant, Gen. xiii. 13. In the same manner, the cup in the Eucharist is called the testament, because it signifies the blood of Christ by which the new testament was acquired.

Finally, I cite the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 26, "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come." Here the word "shew" means nothing more than praise, exalt, magnify, a signification which it has in 1 Peter ii. 9, and in various passages of the Old Testament. Paul would say that the Christian Church is not to omit glorifying the death of Christ till He come at the last day.

In the above manner, Zwingli proves that the words of the institution of the Holy Supper, if taken in their proper connection, do not admit of the literal acceptance, but speak decisively in favour of the symbolical sense. This view found at once confirmation and illustration in the passage in Exod. xii. 11-27, where the Pascal sacrifice or Lamb is called "*the Lord's Passover*," although it only symbolises or commemorates it. We have already seen how the attention of Zwingli was called by a dream to this passage, which seems to speak most unequivocally of all for the figurative sense of the words, "This is my body." Let us

now see how he carries out the comparison between the two passages, and establishes his view.

In Heb. x. 1, it is said that the law has "a shadow of good things to come." As however, amid all the shadows and pre-figurations which are fulfilled in Christ, none bear a stronger resemblance the one to the other than the Paschal Lamb of the Old Testament does to the crucified and slain Christ of the New Testament, all the apostles and all the fathers of the Church are of the mind that the Paschal Lamb is the finest type of the death of Christ, and that Christ himself is the real Paschal Lamb, by which believers, delivered from the slavery of sin, are brought into the heavenly Canaan. Hence Paul says, 1 Cor. v. 7, "For even Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us," &c. Christ himself shews this by word and deed, for He says, two days before the Passover: "Ye know that after two days is the Passover, and the Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men to be crucified, alluding plainly in these words to the circumstance, that in this Passover *the Lamb* should be slain that taketh away the sins of the world. During the Supper He said, deeply moved, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer;" to the end, namely, that He might abrogate the old, and institute the new solemnity, and change the commemoration of a single people delivered from Egyptian bondage into that of the world redeemed from the dominion of the devil and of death. As none can deny that the festival that was once celebrated as a commemoration of redemption from bodily servitude has passed into that of our Supper or Eucharist, in which we rejoice, not indeed over bodily deliverance, but over the propitiation of the world again with God, through His Son, there is undoubtedly no passage in the Old Testament more worthy of examination than that which treats of the institution of the old Passover. For in Holy Scripture upon like subjects the expressions are like.

There the Paschal Lamb is called "the Passover," or "the sacrifice of the Passover," while in reality it only signified the Passover, or was a symbol of it; *here* "bread and wine" are called "the body and blood of the Lord." Shall we not *here* adopt the figurative signification, when we admit it *there*, everything being so similar and corresponding; *there* a commemoration is appointed, *here* likewise; *there* it is the redemption of the body, *here* the

redemption of the soul, which is celebrated. As *there* a symbol of commemoration was appointed before the event itself took place, the commemoration of which was to be held by coming generations, so *here the symbol of Christ slain for us was instituted before He really was slain*, while for coming generations it was to be the symbol of the slain Redeemer. *There*, on the evening preceding the day on which the redemption was to be accomplished the figure was instituted; *here* likewise the figure was appointed on the evening before the day when the redemption was accomplished, when Christ, the true herald, proclaimed, "It is finished." But why do I seek in these single particulars to compare the shadow with the reality, when in every believing soul, as soon as the word passover is pronounced, the recollection of the death of Christ is at once vividly recalled? Why will we not recognise in the same light the figure of speech employed in the Supper, which figure we perceive so plainly in the type, especially since all is clear when we concede it; all is dark, confused, unintelligible, inexplicable, when we deny it.

In conjunction with the Word of God, properly interpreted by itself, Zwingli's *faith* led him to a right recognition of the significance of the Supper. In the light of faith he shrunk before the dreadful consequences of the transubstantiation-doctrine, on the ground of which, the bread and wine were worshipped, and salvation, instead of being sought through faith in Christ, was placed in the outward partaking of the elements. "We are fallen," says he, "into such gross folly as actually to believe that if we but saw the bread, it would bring to us salvation. Nor was this folly enough; what we saw we worshipped, forgetting our own principles, in which all, both ancients and moderns who have written on the subject are agreed, namely, that the *humanity* of Christ is not to be worshipped at all; God alone is to be worshipped. But no man has seen God at any time. Why do we worship, then, anything visible, since God alone is to be worshipped, and He is invisible? In what sophism can those take refuge who teach that the Eucharist, as they call it, is to be worshipped? Do we see that any one of the apostles *adored* the Supper when Christ instituted it in His own commemoration? Ah! our souls are so entangled in the meshes of this error, that I fear if truth itself were to stand revealed before our eyes, we

should not accept it. To what is our faith directed? or on what is it grounded? Is not God the object of it? Why do we hesitate, then, to break loose from ceremonies? Why do we place our hope on things to which Christ never directed it? Is not our salvation to be found alone in Him who is the Saviour of all the ends of the earth?"

Zwingli, although he had come to the firm conviction that the word "is" in the institution of the Supper, must not be taken literally, but in the sense of "signifies," by no means desired the adoption of any change in the formula itself; "for," thus he expresses himself, "when it is said, 'this is my body,' the sacrament is much more solemn and sublime than when it is said 'this *signifies* my body,' wherefore we desire not a letter of it changed. The significance of the Supper in this point of view he illustrated by the following image, as ingenious as it is pertinent:—"As the father of a family who is on the point of journeying to a distant land, gives to his spouse his best ring, on which his image is engraved, so our Lord Jesus Christ at his departure has bequeathed to His bride, the Church, His image in the sacrament of the Supper. This His image he delivered over to us with the words: 'This is my body, this is my blood. Do this in remembrance of me, and shew by thanksgiving, praise and prayer, that I, the husband of your souls, have purchased you.' When the father of the family, at handing over the ring to his spouse, says: 'See in this *myself*,' he gives much more than if he said, 'See, this is my ring;' yet he gives not himself bodily, for he is, as we have said, on the point of departure. Himself, however, he presents in all his marital faithfulness and love, just as if he said: 'Thou shalt not be only assured of my faithfulness and love to thee, but also of this, that I am wholly thine, and therefore I give to thee this ring as a symbol and pledge.' Thus Christ, also, when He was on the point of going for us to death, presented us the bread and wine with the words: *This is my body*, and *this is my blood*, although He was even then about to withdraw his natural body from the earth, and transplant it into heaven. Nevertheless, He presented himself to us wholly in His mercy and faithfulness, as if He said: Now I go for you to death, and soon thereafter I shall again depart from hence. Ye shall not, however, doubt therefore of my

love and care for you. *I am entirely yours with all that I am.* In testimony of it, I give you the symbol of this my sacrifice and of my last will. When ye now, by this commemorative Supper, see this bread and this cup presented to you, you are to think of *me*, that I have given myself up for you, and *ye shall so think of me as if you saw me before your eyes.* In this manner, we really glorify the Supper of the Lord through the presence of Christ, for, through the contemplation of faith, He is as present to our mind as the symbols of His body crucified for us, and His blood shed for us, are present to our senses." This view of the sense and significance of the words of institution, as well as of the Supper itself, Zwingli had obtained at a much earlier period* than that at which he conceived it expedient to make them known. "I testify before God," are his words, "that, with His glory alone in view, I have, for several years, conversed in private upon this subject with many men of learning, because I was unwilling to spread anything abroad amongst the people inconsiderately and rashly which might excite dissension. But the more I consulted, the more I found to concur with me in opinion. Often, too, have I besought the Lord that He would point me out the way in which this most important matter of all, in the judgment of the simple-minded, might be represented in a manner intelligible to all, that, for the future, this sacred solemnity of the Church "might tend to edification and salvation." Meanwhile, Zwingli, in his sermons, impressed upon his hearers with emphasis the duty of seeking salvation *through faith in Jesus Christ*, who died for us, warning them against applying to any creature the veneration and worship which are due to God alone. The bread and wine of the Supper are *holy* in the transaction, because through

* When this view first presented itself fully to Zwingli's mind cannot be accurately ascertained. It is probable that he saw the error, and rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation at the same time with that of the Adoration of the Saints, saint-worship and deified bread equally compromising the merits of Christ, and that immediate faith upon Him, by which alone we can be saved. The first evidence of his change of opinions is contained in a letter to his teacher and friend, Thomas Wyttenbach, of the 15th June 1523. That his new views, however, had been, at this time, completely developed, we know from his own confession: "For a greater number of years than it is necessary here to state, I have held the opinion, which I expressed in a letter to Alber, 16th November 1524, and in the Commentary, (March 1525.). My intention, however, was not to publish it to the world without due consideration, &c. &c."

them Christ is realised by the believing soul, but extraneously to the transaction it is but bread and wine, for Christ dwells in heaven, at the right hand of the Father, but on earth, in the hearts of believers, and not in pyxes." For the rest he awaited in pious resignation the right moment of time, when the Lord should reveal this truth to His people, by himself, or by others.

At the time when our Reformer had gained this standing-point, through the course of that zealous yet cautious investigation after truth peculiar to his mind, Luther, under the impulse of a fiery and living faith, was striving to unwind himself from the errors of Transubstantiation. The former was disgusted at the open idolatry practised through the Sacrament; the latter found himself, in the first instance, hurt in his faith by his change of opinions, accustomed, as his mind had been, to the exaltation of the outward act of the Sacrament, a natural consequence of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.* Hence Luther inculcated with such earnestness faith,† as a main requisite to a blissful partaking of the Sacrament, that, out of the outward act ‡ (*opus operatum*), of the Papal Church, there might be an act of faith (*opus operantis*), a partaking of the Sacrament without faith being not only value-

* Luther also allowed the adoration of the Sacraments. "Let it be free," he says, "to every one to worship Christ in the Sacrament or not; he neither sins who does it, nor he who does it not, for Christ has not enjoined it. It is thus free to worship Christ in the Sacrament or not, because He will have it free, and has given no command on either side. Therefore let him worship who will, and let him worship not who will not; neither one nor other sins; nor is there heresy on either side. If I may or may not worship God in the living man, why not in the Sacrament, as His body and blood are certainly present?"

† Luther undoubtedly had not such clear ideas in reference to the object to which faith is to be directed, and on which it should rest, as Zwingli had. "By the former, faith was more an exalted pious disposition of the soul, sometimes leaning on what was very mediately divine."

‡ It is remarkable that the two Reformers drew from the same circumstance or transaction different conclusions, and yet arrived at a similar result. For example, of the crucifixion Luther says, "that the outward transaction saves none; else this most important of all transactions had certainly saved the Pharisees and the Roman soldiers; their salvation, however, did not take place, because faith failed them." Zwingli deduces from the same event the inference, that sensible handling and perception save no one, else the soldiers who crucified Christ, and the Pharisees who had the immediate view of that which procured the salvation of the world, had been saved. It is the spiritual contact and contemplation by the eye of faith which make us partakers of the redemption achieved by Christ.

less but injurious to man, like bread and wine taken unseasonably. That, however, which rests alone upon the outward partaking of the elements, and the conception that there is in them the body and blood of Christ, is not the true faith. "If you," writes Luther, "in the trials which the devil puts you to, or, in the hour of death, were to say: I have taken the Sacrament, and I believe that it is truly the body and blood of Christ, the devil would rejoice; I believe it too. Thus this your faith helps you not, and the devil has won, and will trip up your heels, so that there is no help for you more. But if you say: Look, thou tyrant, or devil, and death, I have received the Sacrament, in which my Lord Jesus Christ truly vouchsafes that His body and blood are *mine*, and that He hath given me *all* that the words contain in them, then he must flee before you." "To the believer, then, this Sacrament is a sure sign that He is made one with Christ and His Church, and that Christ, together with His life and sufferings, has become *his own*."* Carried forward by His faith, Luther shot ahead of the papistical doctrine of Transubstantiation, it affording no consolation to him. On the other hand, he was unable to free himself from the conception that Christ, in some incomprehensible manner, was bodily present in the Sacrament, such an idea being too intimately associated with his peculiar cast of mind, and too much entwined with his whole style of thought and conception. Thus he arrived at the doctrine, "that in the Sacrament two things are presented to us; *first*, The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in bread and wine; *second*, The great and glorious promise which is offered to every partaker of the Sacrament, that the body of Christ has been given for *us*, and His blood shed for *us*, for the remission of our sins. This view he established, as the Papal Church does the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with the words of institution, "This is my body given for you, this is my blood shed for you." He was, indeed, at times strongly tempted to go

* Luther and Zwingli here agreed almost literally in that which they both regarded as the chief thing in the Sacrament; it was the sweetest consolation to both that Christ had become *ours*, and both admitted that the believer had the assurance of it in the Supper. At the outbreak of the dispute, Luther, carried away by his passion, confounded the subsidiary with the main-point, and prosecuted a conception which, in his opinion, as stated in the text, the devil himself might hold with an energy and an emphasis as if life and an salvation depended upon it.

beyond this view of the significance of the ordinance, and to behold in the bread and wine *symbols* of the body and blood of Christ; but, accustomed as devout monk to honour and adore the bodily present Saviour in the sacrament; and, besides, overmastered by an imagination which allowed him to contemplate the spiritual only in the sensible form,* he found the words of institution according to his interpretation so strong and powerful, as to cause him to say: "Avaunt! to all such temptations." "I acknowledge,"† he says, at a later period, when speaking of these trials, "that if Dr Carlstadt, or any one else, had been able to convince me that a sacrament is nothing but bread and wine, he had done me a signal service. I have suffered so much vexation in regard to this matter, and have so wrestled and wriggled myself upon it, that I had very gladly been clear of it, for I very well saw what a great stroke I could deal the papacy through it. And I have had two who wrote to me more cleverly than Dr Carlstadt upon it,‡ and who did not mangle the words either according to their own ideas. But I am *caught, and cannot get out*. The text is all too powerful for me, and the words will not out of my head. Yet this very day, if any one were to prove to me on solid grounds that simple bread and wine alone were there, I should be no longer so attacked. I am but too inclined to this view when I feel the Adam within me." This confession, which Luther made at the outset of the dispute, gives us a deep insight into his heart, and explains his extreme sensitiveness and irritability whenever this subject came under discussion; it touched an open wound in his otherwise great soul. These different modes of conceiving and representing the significance of the Supper, in reality very nearly related to each other, although in the outward form, in many respects, very different, result from the diverse intellectual character of the two Reformers, the basis of faith being the same in both. Zwingli was endowed by God both

* When he prayed for his sick friend Melanchthon, our Lord God "must preserve him." "For," he continues, "I threw him the sack before the door, and rubbed his ears with all the promises of prayer, that must be heard."

† To the very dear friends of God, all Christians at Strasburg, 15th December 1524.

‡ In my opinion these are probably Rhodius and Sagan, who, as above mentioned, are said to have visited Luther with Honius's letter.

with a fine appreciating sense of the divine, and a penetrating understanding in regard to the phenomena of nature and the relations and affairs of life. These splendid endowments found food and nourishment which suited them along the flowery path of his youth and education. On the mountain summits, where heaven and earth are parted by a sharp drawn line, the reflective soul finds everywhere occasion to admire the majesty of God outshining all the works of creation, while the understanding is sharpened and invigorated by the contemplation of the manifold objects which meet the eye within the range of vision. A profound and pensive intellect, with a predominant imagination, are Luther's characteristics. The rougher and thornier the path of his youth and education were, the more deeply and intensely he turned his inner glance* to the mysteries of his own being, where his imagination created a world of its own, which bore but little resemblance to outward relations. As to his eye, heaven and earth mingled with each other in one grey mass of fog and mist, his powerful imagination invested every emotion which awoke in his soul, every thought that arose there, in a visible tangible form.

* We shall here, for the sake of clearness, present a short summary of the chief parallel events of their lives, in order to shew more distinctly how they approach towards and diverge from each other.

Zwingli and Luther were, as is well known, born within a few weeks of each other, Luther on Martinmas 1483, Zwingli on 1st January 1484. Their parents were pious, upright peasants; Zwingli's, affluent and indulgent to their children; Luther's, poor and austere. Whilst Zwingli's teacher, George Buentzli, was distinguished for learning and gentleness of disposition, we only know Luther's master at Mansfield, as a savage school-tyrant, who flogged his pupil one forenoon fifteen times. Zwingli's parents liberally relieved their son from all the cares of earning his livelihood, Luther had to beg his scanty meal with singing. Both excite admiration by their fine voices. Luther's brings him the means of support from widow Cotta in Eisenach, while Zwingli's had nearly introduced him to a cloister life. About the year 1502, both became acquainted with the Scriptures; Zwingli in Basle, at the feet of Wyttenbach, Luther in the library of Erfurt, where he sees a complete Bible for the first time. About the year 1505, Zwingli finds in Leo Jud a friend that remains faithful to him during his whole life, while Luther loses in a terrible manner such an one in his Alexia, which induced him to seek a cloister. From 1506-1510 Zwingli, as parson of Glarus, wrestles against the temptations of life, and combats the corruption of his country, while Luther suffers under inward trials, and the malice of the monks. Zwingli, by the study of the classics, pierces to a deeper acquaintance with the Bible, while Luther, by reading the writings of the mystics, arrives at the same result. In the year 1510 Luther, in 1513 Zwingli, go to Italy, enthusiastic advocates of the papacy. Both are surprised in the Milanese at finding

The mental development of the two gifted youths, who began their studies at a time when intellectual life moved in two separate currents, corresponded also with the very differently formed impressions of their earlier years. The dry and barren learning of the schools, in the cultivation of which the best spirits of the middle ages exercised themselves, had lost, with many, its splendour and importance, and from Greece and Italy there arose the light of a better culture, in the spread of the knowledge of the dead languages, and of the glorious master-works of antiquity. God led the son of the Swiss mountaineer, the tender-feeling, sharp-witted, Zwingli, into this school, which afforded his intellect the requisite nourishment. Luther, the son of the Saxon plains, was conducted by another and a steeper path, that better corresponded with his peculiar cast of mind. Many deep-thinking men in Germany had already turned their regards from the superficial training of the schools to fathom the soul, in order to sound in its depths the sacred mysteries of the life in God and the Saviour. And what they saw and felt in moments of spiritual awakening they set down in deeply-drawn characters for the instruction of mankind. God led the miner's son, the ardent Luther, into the deep shafts and passages in which these learned men have deposited their treasures, often, indeed, covered with a thick coating of dross. But both these youths the Lord had destined to one and the same great work; Zwingli was not to pitch his tent in the outer court of the Gentiles, nor Luther to dissipate his energies in dreamy contemplation behind cloister walls, and in the twilight of the mystics. By the mysterious process through which God conducts the men who seek Him to their proper stations in His kingdom, he led them both to Holy Scripture, to the apprehension of eternal truth, and to the feet of

another ritual for the mass—the Ambrosian. Luther, in his journey, becomes acquainted at Rome with the thorough dissoluteness of the lower classes of the Roman clergy. Zwingli, in his Italian campaigns, has his eyes opened to the total corruption of papal misgovernment. In the year 1517 both found peace of soul through faith on Jesus Christ, and while Zwingli, resolute to proclaim the Word of God without respect of human laws and doctrines, attacks the pilgrimages and the adoration of the Virgin; Luther, from the same standing-point, attacks the sale of Indulgences, and without intending it, shakes the papacy to its foundations. "When I assailed this abuse," he wrote himself afterwards, "I was yet a monk, and the most absurd Papist in the world, so drunk, so drowned in Papal doctrine, that had I had the power, I should willingly have put all to death who refused obedience to the Pope."

Him who alone is the true teacher. Thus the two greatest men of the time, the representatives of different kinds of intellect, and different directions of thought, stand before us with the combined testimony they sent forth,—“The Word of God is the only directory of faith and practice; in Christ alone is salvation to be found,”—as two bright examples of the glory of divine teaching, and the power of the gospel. The Christian, indeed, suffers a pang, that one of them, under the influence of error, yielded so far to the bent of his natural disposition, as at times to compromise the love, which is the bond of perfectness, towards his brother, who stood on the same foundation of faith as himself. Yet God’s thoughts are not our thoughts; He allows the greatest minds to be overtaken by some infirmity, that we may give our hearts unreservedly to Him who knew no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile.

6. HOW THE CONTEST REGARDING THE SUPPER BROKE OUT, AND WITH WHAT REASONS ZWINGLI REBUTTED THE OBJECTIONS OF LUTHER AGAINST HIS DOCTRINE OF THE SUPPER.

Luther had, by his authority, and by the power of his preaching, restored order at Wittenberg, but the authors of the disturbances had not been converted from their opinions. The German people, who in many parts of the country sighed under severe oppression, often exercised with great injustice on the part of the civil and spiritual authorities, rose, in 1524 and 1525, in fierce insurrection against their tyrants. The Zwickau prophets took part in this rebellion, and the notorious Thomas Muenzer, in Thuringia and Suabia, exercised a very important and baleful influence in it.* Carlstadt, too, gave himself up again to his former spirit of fanaticism, and abandoned, on his own responsibility, his post as professor and preacher in Wittenberg, to preach at Orlamuenda, near Lena, one of Wittenberg’s affiliated churches. Under his influence the images were here broken to shivers, and thrown out of the churches, and public worship altered in accordance with his views. In order to give his opin-

* It cannot be shewn that Carlstadt took part in the civil insurrection. He appears rather to have confined his violence to ecclesiastical affairs.

ions a wider dissemination, he erected, at Lena, a printing-press, from which he issued a series of small publications, to the great displeasure of Luther. He had, in one of these pieces, entitled, "Whether it can be proved, by Holy Scripture, that Christ is present in the Sacrament with body, blood, and soul," delivered the opinion (1524), that Christ, at the institution of the Supper, referred in the words, "Take, eat," to the bread, on the other hand, to himself in the words, "This is my body." From hence he drew the conclusion, that neither bread nor wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ, as the papists teach, nor that the body and blood of Christ unite with the wine, as Luther's opinion was, but that the bread and wine are only symbols of Christ's broken body and shed blood, and that the ordinance of the Supper is a *solemn commemoration of the body of Christ given for us*.

Luther expressed his just indignation at the seditious propensities of the Zwickau prophets, and Carlstadt's despicable behaviour; in his work,* "Against the heavenly prophets," and in an Appendix to it, "On Images and the Sacraments," he assailed with great vehemence the view Carlstadt had expressed on the Supper. This gave rise to a violent paper-war betwixt Luther and Carlstadt.† In the end, Carlstadt was forced to quit Orlamuenda

* Among other eccentricities which Carlstadt displayed is the following: He laid aside his ecclesiastical costume, strutted about in a grey coat and felt hat, like a peasant or artisan, had himself called neighbour Andrew, and wished to be subject to the judge at Orlamuenda.

† Zwingle writes, at a later period, in reference to the manner in which Luther and Carlstadt fought with each other, to the former, in the following terms: "Your everlasting complaints, that nobody has replied to what you have written against Carlstadt, have forced me to a perusal of your polemical writings. But, gracious heavens, how little that is solid and well considered does one find in them? I have only seen, in the whole affair, two blind fighters rushing into single combat. Carlstadt, indeed, is on the tract of truth, but ignorant of the true significance of the figures, he transposes and perverts the words senselessly, like some raw recruit, who has, indeed, courage and arms, but without skill, not knowing on which parts of the body he must fasten his arms. Thus, instead of the harness, he binds the helmet on his breast, the greaves he puts on his forehead, and with the arm-rings he covers his legs, out of the coat of mail he makes a helmet, and out of the helmet a quiver, out of the javelin a bow, and out of the bow an arrow. So Carlstadt went into battle. But you, too, though trained to war, rush into the arena without consideration, and without arms, and make him who is inexperienced in the use of his arms so ridiculous to all, by heaping upon him

and the Saxon territory, being threatened with banishment for disobedience. He now directed his erring steps to the south, whither his friend Muenzer had proceeded, to take part in the insurrection of the peasants in Suabia. His work upon the Supper, which was disseminated with great zeal, operated like a firebrand in Germany, many having already quarrelled with the Transubstantiation of the Roman Catholic Church without either adopting Luther's artificial solution of the difficulty, or being able to form a more satisfactory one of their own from Scripture. The strife upon this subject came to none more unseasonably than to the truly pious Zwingli, who ever treated what was holy with a tender reserve, and would have it so treated by others. He had already in private gained so many friends for his own view as developed above, and which had its firm foundation in the Word of God, that he ventured to hope "it would pass into the hearts of the faithful without the noise of angry warfare. For nearly all to whom he opened it, breathed freely, and looked gladly up like people returning from the darkness and solitude of a dungeon, meeting the gracious light and kind friends." "Now Carlstadt comes forward," continues Zwingli, "with his declaration, a too strained one, as even his most ardent followers admit, after they had weighed the sentiments of the ancients upon the subject which I produced to them. I have also learned that Carlstadt had resolved to come to Zurich for the purpose alone of talking over this subject with me, upon which he is grossly ignorant. Some,* however, in their dark fanatical spirit, have so strongly dissuaded him from a meeting with me, that he has not even saluted me when he saw me. Nay, the medicine they have given him has operated in this respect so powerfully, that he neither at Basle nor at Strasburg spoke a syllable with the ministers of the Word upon that subject. Those also to whom I have just referred, as being filled with a dark fanatical spirit, were well acquainted with my views of the Supper, although they could by no means be brought to accede to them. No sooner, however, had they heard of Carlstadt's declaration of opinion, than they hastened to every possible jibe, jeer, and sally of wit, that no eye could recognise him again in the form in which you paint him. Nay, by your noisy exaggerations and invectives, you have set the spectators in the dilemma of not knowing whether to laugh at or compassionate the poor man."

* Grebel Manz and their friends above-mentioned.

Basle* themselves, brought his books on their backs hither, and filled not only cities, towns, and villages with them, but even the hamlets. The result, however, by no means corresponded to their expectation, for very few adopted the opinion, as I think, deterred by the hardness and violence of the interpretation. What should I now do who have to preach the Word of God in Zurich? Although a great part of the brethren were agreed, in regard to the main point, (for each had for himself learned through faith and my preaching how unreasonable it is to look for flesh and blood in that which Christ, speaking of His body and blood, has declared to be spirit and life,) yet they withheld their consent from so rash an interpretation. I say, what was I to do, who saw Carlstadt thus running eagerly to the goal but missing it? Was I to repel the people back once more to their former error against my own convictions. I did this: I began immediately to explain the figurative meaning (*tropus*) which lies in the words of our Lord, and I did it with so much success, that the brethren comprehended all I had to say, ere I was half through with the explanation I had to make. When could I have more seasonably come forward with my opinion than just then when the subject had been broached in so dangerous a manner? Nay, would it have been at all wise to have kept silence?"

To this step, Zwingli was in part also induced by a resolution of the Zurich Council which forbade the dissemination and reading of Carlstadt's writings. Although the Reformer disapproved of such a measure in itself, he had double cause to find fault with it here, inasmuch as it had a tendency to suppress the truth along with error. He accordingly expressed openly his disapprobation of it, and effected its withdrawal. At the same time, he combated the error which lay in Carlstadt's view, and established the truth by an exhibition of his own opinions. This difficult task he had not only to perform in Zurich, but also elsewhere, as the contest so passionately entered into by Luther and Carlstadt began to burst out in various places. Thus the two parsons of Reutlingen, Matthew Alber, who adhered to Luther's views, and Conrad Hermann, who approved of Carlstadt's explanation, desired to hold a public disputation upon the sub-

* Here Carlstadt had got some books printed.

ject, and in this manner involve the community in the dispute. As soon as Zwingli heard of this intention, he wrote a letter to Alber, stating his opinions at length, and strongly dissuading him against a disputation. Zwingli adjured Alber "by Jesus Christ, the Judge of the quick and the dead, (so strong was his language,) to shew this letter to none of whom he did not certainly know that he was firm in the faith on one Lord." The letter, however, was widely circulated in Southern Germany, in Switzerland, and in Alsace, a dissemination which Zwingli indeed himself aided by sending copies of it to friends on whom he had reliance, such as Bucer and Capito,* in Strasburg, Ecolampad in Basle, &c. They all expressed their decided approval of the contents. Intelligence of Zwingli's views upon the sacrament reached Luther also, who, however, had not the least idea that the Zurich Reformer had gained these by an independent study of the Word of God, or that they differed in any respect from Carlstadt's. Under this impression, he wrote on the 21st December 1524, to Amsdorf: "Carlstadt's poison is spreading fast. Already Zwingli and Leo Jud have adopted his opinions." Carlstadt now occupied in Luther's heated imagination the same position to Zwingli and his like-minded friends in Southern Germany, as Thomas Muenzer did to the insurrectionary peasants in Thuringia and Suabia. Had Luther exercised but a small degree of self-control, he would have soon perceived how groundless his suspicions were, and that Zwingli's views of the Supper had just as little origin in the fanaticism of the heavenly prophets as that spring flowers derive their blossoms from wintry storms.

* Capito wrote (January 1525) to Zwingli: "Bucer is wholly at one with you in the matter of the Supper, although he was at first more devoted to Luther's view than I could have expected in a man of such penetration, but it may be, he had the circumstances of the times more in his eye than the cause of truth." Luther received his information of the Swiss Reformation, and the course it took, mostly from travelling students, who exaggerated all, and represented many things falsely. Isolated infringements of the laws of fasting, and isolated iconoclastic excesses communicated by such tale-bearers, were generally regarded at Wittenberg as things approved of by Zwingli, and severely censured, as is very evident from Melancthon's letters to Hummelberger of Ravensburg, and to Hess in Silesia. Zwingli's independent standing, and his great merits in the work of the Reformation, were unknown to Luther and his friends at Wittenberg; they weened the Swiss Reformation was but a distortion of the light that beamed from Wittenberg.

Nor did they know that this calm and temperate champion of the faith was to all insurrectionists, to use his own words on the subject, "as favourable as to the devil." But instead of confining himself to a calm examination of the subject in the clear light of truth, he gave full rein to the fury of a fancy enkindled by passion, and falsely attributed to Zwingli and his friends* opinions, motives, and qualities of soul, which were as far from him as midnight darkness is from the noontide light. Thus Luther never got free of the mistake that Zwingli denied *the presence* of Christ in the Supper, while the latter distinctly says: "That he regards the Lord's Supper without the presence of Christ in it as an enormity, before which every Christian must shudder."† But, according to him, Christ, who has all life in himself, and gives life to all who believe on Him, is not present in *the lifeless bread*, but in *the believing soul*.

Keeping, then, the grounds in view, with which Luther combated Zwingli's view, and those with which the latter defended himself, let us, for the sake of clearness, represent them both as delivering their sentiments in their own words:—

Luther: The sixth chapter of the gospel of John, on which you build your view of the holy Supper, speaks not of this sacrament at all; why do you refer to it?

Zwingli: For this reason: you draw into the sacrament *material* flesh and blood. It is this very passage which gives us a solution of the bodily eating of the flesh and blood of Christ, by the statement which it makes, "that it profiteth nothing." As you, on the other hand, make this corporeal partaking essential to the sacrament, how could I better answer the error than in the words of Christ himself, with which he corrects in his disciples the very same error? Christ teaches here the gospel; the Jews and his disciples were led astray by his words, and stumbled at corporeal flesh-eating. If now in the sacrament any one fall erroneously upon the idea of eating material flesh, the antidote for this error is to be sought in the place where it was first grown.

Luther: When Christ, however, says, John vi., "The flesh profiteth nothing," He is not to be understood as speaking of His

* To these belonged, besides his colleagues in Zurich, Oecolampad in Basle, and Bucer and Capito in Strasburg.

† See Zwingli's letters to Martin Bucer of 12th February 1531.

own flesh, but of the nature and infirmity of flesh generally, as in Isaiah xl. 6, "All flesh is grass." Christ's meaning is, that carnal understanding profiteth nothing, He by no means saying, "*My* flesh profiteth nothing;" for how could he mean this, since it is by it we are redeemed?

Zwingli: It is true, in the first place, that carnal understanding profiteth nothing. On the contrary, it is hurtful. Christ however is not here speaking of carnal understanding, as you maintain; for by speaking of carnal understanding in the bad sense, He would not have replied to the doubts and objections of the disciples, which had reference to corporeal eating. Hence the answer of Christ must regard the corporeal eating of His flesh in such a manner as to remove these doubts and objections; for if not, then He has not corrected their misconception at all, but has begun a new discourse about carnal understanding, which is contrary to His custom, which ever is to resolve doubts, and to explain His misunderstood words. Moreover, the narrative itself tells us very distinctly that Christ *did* reply to the murmurs which His disciples raised in regard to the bodily eating of His flesh. For it runs thus: "When Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them," &c. These words plainly shew that He is about to resolve that point, which caused them difficulty. Farther, the succeeding words shew that he continues to speak of the former subject of discourse, and abides by it, "Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me except it were given unto him of my Father." For He thrice at least repeats the sense of these words. In short, the point in dispute was the eating of His flesh, of which Christ says "that it profiteth nothing," as they understood it. But in the second place, that Christ does not say *my* flesh, but simply *the* flesh, can create no misunderstanding, for His language had reference to no other flesh but His own. Nor does He say *my* Spirit it is which quickens, but simply *the* Spirit that quickeneth. But every believer understands that He is here speaking of His Spirit, although He does not expressly say *my* Spirit. In the third place, the flesh of Christ profits us much, for it was crucified for us. The Jews and the disciples, however, would not rightly understand this, referring what He said to corporeal eating. Therefore Christ says *my* flesh eaten profits nothing, but

crucified it brings us the greatest good which the history of man has ever witnessed.

Luther: The words of the institution are, "This is my body; this is my blood;" and these words we must believe, for he who believes not every word that Christ has spoken will be damned.

Zwingli: This is true, but we must first see that we rightly understand the sense of Christ's words. For to misunderstand Christ's words, and to build our faith on this misconception, is not believing Christ's words, but our own misunderstanding of them. It is well said, all the words of God are to be believed without reserve, but first of all we must understand the words ere we believe them. Else through the not understanding of them we deceive ourselves, while we think to maintain our misunderstanding by crying out, "We are to believe God's word." We must therefore seek to comprehend rightly the words of institution, by comparing them with such passages as, "the flesh profiteth nothing;" "the field is the world;" "John is Elias;" "the rock was Christ." Then we shall find that they express a figure, for "this signifies my body," or "this is the symbol of my body," as which they must be understood.

Luther: I will have no "figuratizing"* of the word of God; we must take Christ's words in their plain natural sense, "this is my body."

Zwingli: Then it follows that the bread is changed into the very body of Christ. The Roman Pope then is right in his doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Paul is wrong when he says, 1 Cor. x. 17, "We are all partakers of that one bread," here calling that bread which is in reality the body of Christ.

Luther: The words of Christ are not to be understood as implying that the bread is changed into the substance of the body of Christ, but that while we bless the bread the body of Christ unites with the consecrated bread, and while we bless the cup the blood of Christ unites with the wine. Hence Paul, 1

* "Figuratizing." (Zeichelei,) Luther accused Œcolampad of, because he explained the words of institution to be, The bread is a *figure* of my body, following Tertullian in this. Zwingli, on the other hand, explained them, The bread *signifies* my body, following here, as his authority, Ambrosius. Luther accused him of "figuratizing." Œcolampad and Zwingli, however, are so much at one in their views of the Supper, that the one often uses the phraseology of the other.

Cor. x. 16, calls the *consecrated* cup the communion of the blood of Christ, and the bread broken the communion of the body of Christ.

Zwingli: But in the first place, you must not translate "the cup of blessing" in the passage quoted, but "the cup of thanksgiving," for the Greek words, *εὐλογία* and *εὐλογεῖν*,* signify thanksgiving, or to give thanks, and not to bless or consecrate. In like manner, the place in Psalm cxiii. 2, where the same word occurs, ought not to be rendered, "Blessed be the name of the Lord," but, the Lord's name is to be praised, or given thanks to. The word communion is here taken for community or congregation. Hence this is the meaning of the words: The cup of praise or thanksgiving with which we give Thee praise or thanks, or which we drink with thanksgiving, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we are all one bread and one body, since we all are partakers of one bread with one another. Paul will in these words turn the Christians at Corinth from idolatrous worship and sacrifice, and he propounds this doctrine to them: "Ye are another community than that ye should eat in the community of idolaters; for you are the community of the body and blood of Christ. When ye then take the sacrament, and eat and drink with one another, ye shew that ye are one body and one blood;" to wit, the body of the Church manifesting itself through faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his body and his blood for them. Now Paul calls the believers the community or communion of the blood of Christ, as may be clearly deduced from the words, "for we being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread." Mark how plainly he calls us one bread and one body, for the reason that we eat together of one bread. This is the true sense of the passage.† Moreover, if the words, "this is my body," are not to be understood, as you admit, in the sense that the bread is changed into the real body of Christ, it is evident they are not to be taken in their plain

* See Luecke's Commentary on John, Vol. ii., page 62, *εὐλογεῖν* and *εὐχαριστεῖν* are cognate expressions, which were both employed in the usual Jewish thanksgivings before meals, בִּרְכָה; *εὐλογεῖν* relates more to the external form of it, while *εὐχαριστεῖν* expresses more the contents. The exegesis of this distinguished Lutheran doctor accordingly confirms Zwingli's idea.

† Luther had before this explained and commented on this passage in the sense of Zwingli in his "Sermon upon the solemn Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ."

and natural sense. What then, I pray you, is their meaning, in your opinion?

Luther : They signify the bread and they signify the body of Christ at once in the sense, " This is bread and this is the body of Christ, or in the bread is the body of Christ."

Zwingli : Thus the words of our Lord are not plain and simple, but are to be understood in a twofold sense, if they designate bread and the body of Christ. If bread remains bread, and if in the bread the body of Christ is partaken of, then they are not taken in their plain natural sense, but they form what is called a synecdoche.* For Christ did not say, "in the bread is my body," but He said, " bread is my body." Do you see, dear Luther, how you yourself depart from the plain and natural signification of the words, and declare them to contain a figure of speech? What reasonable ground have you now to set up against the view that they ought to be understood as a conditional or figurative form of speech, seeing that you yourself maintain them to be a synecdoche, and thus figurative?

Luther : The bread is bread, and at the same time also the body of Christ; both the bread and the body of Christ are partaken of in this sacrament in a wonderful and to us inexplicable manner.

Zwingli : Christ called upon the Jews to believe Him for the very works' sake, if not otherwise; for the *wonders* were done so openly, that none could deny them. Shew us then here the *wonder*, that we may see and believe it. For Christ has beforehand prophesied, "For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch, that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." If then we are to be cautious in respect of wonders, even where they are actually wrought, how much more in respect of those that are not done at all, and that are nowhere in the Word of God given out as such.

Luther : The body of Christ is not partaken of in a gross or sensible manner, but in a way known to Christ alone.

Zwingli : Yet it must be partaken of in a very gross and carnal manner, if the words are to be understood in their plain and natural sense. For in this sense they are: this bread is this

* This figure of speech Luther employed very often, whether it suited or not, while he censured tropes used by his opponents, in the strongest manner. Synecdoche is the trope according to which a part is taken for the whole.

my body given for you. Now it is a gross body, a body covered with wounds and strokes that has been given for us, and consequently, it is this body which must be partaken of by us, if the words are to be taken in their plain, obvious and natural sense; or, if not, please to shew us, by passages from Holy Scripture, in what other way He is to be partaken of?

Luther : The body of Christ is everywhere, for He governs and fills all things.

Zwingli : Then the angel proclaimed to the women an untruth when he told them, "He is not here, but is risen." And Christ, who is the truth itself, has spoken what is untrue, for he repeatedly assured his disciples he would be no more in this world, that is in his humanity.

Luther : The humanity of Christ is everywhere present, and fills all things as wheat fills a sack, and He is also in a peculiar manner present in this sacrament, that we may know where to find him.

Zwingli : The assertion that the body of Christ fills all things is opposed to the words of the angel, and were it true, would destroy the reality of His ascension and make it a deception. The assertion, then, is an absurd one, which is entirely coined out of your own brain, and contradicted by the written Word. In respect of the second part of your reply, it is contradicted by what Christ says in respect of the time in which we live, that is to say the interval between his ascension to heaven and the day of judgment, Matt. xxiv. 26-27. "Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." It is also in opposition to the articles of the Christian creed, "He is ascended to heaven, where he sits at the right hand of God, the Father, from whence also he shall come to judge the world," &c. Finally, it is at variance with the words of Christ, Matt. xxvi. 64, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power," &c. Lo! the Son of man sits at the right hand of God, and from thence reveals His power and glory from this time forward, as He himself says. And from this time forward we are not to seek for Him anywhere else, but at the right hand of the Father.

Luther: What we assert does all take place in a manner invisible, for Christ does not descend to us and again ascend to heaven by a ladder or by a stair.

Zwingli: It is, however, contradicted by the words of the angel, Acts i. 11: "This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven."

Luther: Yes, so He will come to judgment. But this passage has no reference to His presence in the Supper.

Zwingli: Holy Scripture only teaches that He will come a second time to judgment, and forbids us to seek for Him anywhere but in heaven, at the Father's right hand. Nay, Christ calls those false prophets who shall point to Him as here or as there, and says, "*from henceforth* ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power." In this time, which he designates with the words "*from henceforth*," we are now living. Therefore, we will contemplate Him there where he is. For wherefore should He unite His natural body with the bread in the Supper?

Luther: That it may confirm and assure our hearts and faith.

Zwingli: It is the Spirit, as Christ himself tells us, that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing. And this Spirit is, according to His promise, to abide with us, and teach us what we are to speak, so that we require to take no thought what to say, Matt. x. 19.

Luther: By the corporeal eating, the remission of sins is in part given to us.

Zwingli: That Christ by his death has atoned for our sins, having become a curse for us, is a truth so oft repeated in Scripture, that it is not necessary here particularly to state it. But if sins be forgiven by the natural partaking of the body of Christ, the sins of the disciples would have been already pardoned at the Supper. In this case, the blood of Christ shed for us would not alone cleanse us from all sin, as the apostle John assures us in his 1st Epistle, chap. i. ver. 7, but the draught of wine at the Supper would effect this purpose also. For what reason then did Christ die on the cross? Or, are there two paths to justification, one by faith and another by the corporeal partaking of the body and blood of Christ? Into what an abyss of confusion do we plunge ourselves,

when we leave the Word of God, and indulge in our own idle imaginations?

Luther: In the bread the very thing is presented to us which is proclaimed by the preaching of the Word.

Zwingli: But what are we to make of such passages as, "He who believeth on me hath everlasting life," "No man cometh unto me, except my Father draw him." If a man can really give the salvation which he preaches in so substantial a form as this, why do we not make those who hear the gospel, but who believe it not, even against their will, partakers of the draught, which is bitter indeed to them, but of healing power?

Luther: You are so obtuse and so unspiritual that you comprehend nothing at all of these high things, which must be spiritually understood. It is those only who *believe* who partake of the body of Christ naturally.

Zwingli: Yet we *believe*, and yet do not partake of the body of Christ in a natural manner.

Luther: We must believe that we partake in this Sacrament of the body of Christ, and they who believe this, they partake of it.

Zwingli: Take care of making a dangerous sport of *faith*, now attaching one sense to it, now another, according as it suits your purpose. Is not saving faith this: to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and to place our trust alone in Him? Why confound so dishonestly a sound faith in Christ with notions entirely contrary to the language and spirit of Scripture? Is there in the whole Bible the slightest intimation that we are to believe that the body and blood of Christ are to be partaken of naturally united with the bread? What apostle has ever said: "We *believe* that we have eaten or drunk thee?" Have not all with one consent confessed: We believe that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God? You, however, would perform a certain jugglery before the eyes of the simple-minded, and you screen and defend your vain conceit under the holy name of faith. And you stigmatise us with the names of heretics, false teachers, and unbelievers, for not accepting this vain conceit of yours, because we have learnt something very different from the Word of God. We however set our confidence in God through Jesus Christ, knowing that this faith alone saves us, and not your silly dreaming. For nowhere do we learn from the Word of God that Christ is

corporeally partaken of in the Supper, but most surely we learn that we are to feed upon Him in the sense of believing on Him, John vi. May God grant you grace better to know Him and His Word, Amen.

These are the chief objections which were made by Luther against Zwingli's views, which the latter triumphantly repelled, with arms borrowed from the chamber of God's Word. The dispute, indeed, branched itself out into various questions, some more nearly, some but very distantly, connected with the Sacrament, as, for example, the relation to each other of the two natures in Christ. As it is impossible for us to pursue the debate into the ramifications into which it spread, we abstain from entering farther into this question here. Zwingli, making a complete refutation of Luther's view by the Word of God, and establishing His own upon it, his opponent became more and more pressed to make use of those arguments which the Roman Catholic Church have advanced in defence of Transubstantiation. From this point of view, Luther ascribed to the Sacraments an importance in diametric opposition to his earlier statements, and which not a little jeopardised the doctrine of justification by faith. If he formerly taught, "Before God we have quite enough to do to believe the gospel; but now He will have us to serve men, and to make a profession of the faith which we bear in our hearts by some outward signs before the world," he now mounted to the thoroughly papistical assertion, "When I present to you the bread, I present to you God with all his gifts."* He compared now the Sacrament to "the sun," which daily rises, and describes its circuit in the heavens, remaining ever the same sun. Immovable and unchanged, whether man see and feel it or not, the same to the blind, or to him that closes the window, so that it neither shines upon, nor warms him, so also the Sacraments, when celebrated according to the Word of God, are in their nature complete and perfect, and saving works of God. In contrast with this comparison, which ascribes to the Sacrament far too high a position and importance, to the detriment of the glory of Christ, Zwingli illustrated the position of the Redeemer, exalted to the right hand of God, by the same figure. "Consider," says he, "the sun, which,

* You may now, then, cries Zwingli to him on this, make yourself the administrator of all the gifts of God, as the Pope has done.

being a limited body, is not in two places at once. Yet it enlightens the whole earth, so that Indian and Spaniard, Muscovite and Moor, behold it, although none of these lands or peoples are in contact with the sun's disc. Thus, the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, real God and man, is, with the splendour and glory of His divine power and nature, everywhere present. On the other hand, the body of His humanity is only in one place, at the right of the Father, but yet He is everywhere gazed on, and contemplated by the eye of the soul and faith. He is our satisfaction, although He is but in one place, namely, in heaven. Nor shall we wish Him down as little as we should desire to draw the sun to the earth. There above, at the right hand of the Majesty on high, He sits enthroned in glory, casting down upon us the beams of His grace, and disseminating upon those who are round about Him the rays of light, joy, and bliss."

Luther allowed himself so far to be carried away by the false view he had once adopted as to make the assertion: "Although a knave, or an unbeliever, take or give the Sacrament, he takes the right Sacrament, that is, Christ's body and blood, just the same as if he acted most piously." To this Zwingli answered, "Christ says, He who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abides in Me, and I in him. None would be bold enough to maintain that a knave, or an unbeliever, is in Christ, and Christ in him, which yet, according to your statement, would be true. It is certain that the impious partake of the Sacrament in the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and, indeed, to their damnation. But believers alone partake of Christ by faith truly, and hence they abide in Christ and He in them. The statement, that faith is not necessary to preach the gospel, and to dispense the Sacrament, is directly opposed to Holy Scripture, and is an arrow from the Pope's quiver. Paul says, 1 Cor. iv. 2, 'Moreover it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful.' But how can a man be faithful to God, his Lord, without believing on Him, and loving Him? The office of the ministry* above all requires faith; for, he who does not possess it, is no servant of

* Luther, in the course of this dispute, in reference to the ministerial office, fell into an awkward contradiction of his former principles. In the "discourse upon the New Testament," he says, "Therefore, if they have but faith, all Christian men are priests, and all women priestesses, be they young or old,

God, but a servant of the devil, and administers his word. The same holds, in the administration of the Sacrament, the celebration of which is one of the duties of the Christian ministry. He who has not faith would sooner conjure the devil than the body of Christ."

Luther: Yes, it comes all by the power and Word of God.

Zwingli: Were not devils expelled by the Word of God, and the blind made to see? Look more narrowly at the words of Peter, Acts iii. 6, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk." Has not the impotent here been made to stand up by the power of God? Has not Peter pronounced the name of Jesus upon Him? But no man can call Jesus Lord, except by the Holy Ghost. It is, however, the believer alone who speaks and acts in the Holy Ghost. Attend to the passage, in Mark xvi. 17, "And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils," &c. Observe here to whom it is that the Lord grants power to work wonders, and to act in His name, it is to *those who believe*. Whoever, then, in the stead of Christ, discharges the office of the ministry, and dispenses the Sacrament, must have *faith* above all things.

7. THE DIFFERENT MANNER IN WHICH ZWINGLI AND LUTHER CONDUCTED THE CONTEST; THE RESULT OF IT.

Having thus stated the arguments and counter-arguments advanced by Zwingli and Luther in this disputation, we shall now cast a glance at the spirit in which each of them waged the contest. While we think it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind that Zwingli had on his side the Word of God, rightly understood, we shall also find that he conducted the contest, in which he became involved without any fault of his, in such a manner as became a Christian. Unhappily the same cannot be said of Luther. We must not, indeed, leave out of view that this eminent man had suffered much from youth up, that he had come through a rough school, where, of master or servant, wife or maid, learned or unlearned." At an after period he held the opinion that if the devil himself would only become pious enough to allow himself to be ordained, he might discharge the office of the ministry very well, and dispense the Sacrament.

necessity he had to take on a rough outside, if he would not altogether sink into intellectual apathy and imbecility. He himself, indeed, confesses: "My hull may be somewhat hard, but the kernel is tender and soft." Unfortunately he exposed only to Zwingli the hard rind. While he with justice regarded himself as a chosen vessel of the Lord for the reformation of the Church, he committed the great mistake of looking upon every opinion or doctrine he himself espoused as a truth of God,* and of infallible certainty. From this point of view it was natural to regard those of his adversary as suggested by Satan.† Accordingly, at the very outset of the contest, he spoke the terrible words which permitted no change or modification of his views afterwards:‡ "One party must belong to the devil, and be God's enemy; there is no middle way." How very differently Zwingli judges of his position to his opponents! He was as convinced as Luther was of himself that he was a servant of God, and called to co-operate in the great work of Reformation, but he never forgot that *we are all men liable to err*. Accordingly, he began every disquisition on this important subject of debate with prayer to God for illumination; while Luther began or ended every one of his with some reference to the devil.§ In his very first writing

* He gives the most distinct expression to this sentiment in a writing under date January 1539. See De Wette's Letters, Book iv. page 155.

† "I hold that I alone have stood (not to speak of the old) in twenty tempests and commotions which the devil has blown. First, there was the popedom; yea, I think all the world should clearly know with how many whirlwinds, bulls, and books the devil through the same hath raged against me, how he has torn me to pieces, and brought me to nought, (without my having sometimes a little stirred them up,) and yet effected nothing by it, except that they increased their wrath and fury till this day without ceasing. And just as I was almost dying of fear with this raging of the devil, he breaks in another hole, through Muenzer and the insurrection, that he may blow out my candle altogether. And as Christ stops up this hole, he drives in some panes of my window, through Carlstadt, roars and howls that I thought he would carry away light, wax, and wick at once. But God helped his poor wind-light here too, so that nothing was quenched. Then came the Sacramentalists and the Anabaptists, and drove in door and window, to extinguish, as they thought, the light. Verily, they did their best, but they did not accomplish their will."

‡ Luther had written, in reference to his doctrine of the Supper, "that in the event of his being pressed by any extremity to say or teach anything else, he would have it known that it was false, and a suggestion of the devil." Zwingli justly characterises this declaration as a plain confession of despair.

§ Zwingli writes, upon one of such conclusions to a book of Luther's: "The

on the subject in his letter to Alber, Zwingli prays: "Almighty God lead us on the right path, and if we are about to undertake anything against Thy truth, O send Thy angel, that we may not be turned aside to the folly of ignorance or of love of vain-glory, but that He may thrust us to the wall till our foot be crushed, that is, till the impure carnality be quenched, that we no more blaspheme the name of God."

With what mildness and love does he reply to Luther's heavy accusation that the devil had whispered him his doctrine! "You write, dear Luther, 'that the devil has taken possession of us; we had indeed read that Christ hath died for us, but we receive it not into our hearts.' We do not know what better to say to this than to reply in the words of Paul, 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?' (Rom. xiv. 4.) If we repeat to you the sum of what we believe and teach, you either say we have learned it from you—and is it not wonderful that if we have learned it from you, you do not recognise your own doctrine?—or you say we do not believe our own confession. What are we to do? We can do nothing but joyfully bear the reproach, and lay our case before the just Judge."

Zwingli, in the course of the contest, having established many self-contradictions against Luther, that he might be led to reflect he too was subject to error, assures him: "I say this in truth, not to make any insulting reproach against you, but *to hold up yourself to yourself*. How can you refrain from saying, when your own assertions are held up to you, 'I have made a mistake?' How short, but how healing for all the churches were these simple words! Is there among mortals one that with right can be called free from error? Nothing unusual would happen to you were you to say, 'I am mistaken.' For we all go wrong in many respects. Then, indeed, something quite unheard of would happen to you were it to be said Luther has never stumbled, never erred. Nay, it were altogether blasphemous were we foolish enough to

best of it all is, that he closes his book like the parson who lectured his people thus: 'Mark, if you don't better yourselves, and I too, we shall all go to the devil. To which may the Lord help you and me, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' So Luther ends saying, 'If I should say anything different, I here publicly make known that it is false, and a suggestion of the devil. To which may my Lord and Saviour help me, Jesus Christ.' His former book he began with the devil, this one he ends with him."

ascribe to you that which alone belongs to the Supreme Being. Reflect how much trouble you will spare the poor people of Germany, who all entertain this view, which you will not espouse, or will not dare to espouse if you speak this single word. Conquer, yes, undoubtedly conquer, will our opinion; but if you oppose it, the victory will be all the more dearly purchased; all will congratulate themselves upon it if you but say, "I am mistaken." To err, to stumble, to deceive oneself, is human; and you will not deem anything human foreign to you." With the greatest anxiety and tenderness he endeavoured to extricate his opponent from the meshes of passion in which he had wound himself, and to gain him over to a more gracious and dignified management of his cause. "There were many," he says, "ere your ill-temper laid itself, who, in the heat of the debate, treated of this important subject, upright and conscientious men they were, whom you spared not in a manner consistent either with your own or their dignity. I now appeal from Luther in a passion to Luther appeased and pacified. For it cannot escape you how dangerous it is to take counsel of anger, self-conceit, obstinacy, and ill-humour, and other passions; with what boldness and insolence they pass themselves off as justice, courage, firmness, and dignity. Give up, I pray you, your scolding, which is disreputable, and cease to overwhelm us only with hard words. Not as though I cared for such blasts; I have, thank God, pretty well accustomed myself to them, and stand upon a rock which does not reel, and which gives me a sure footing against the storm; but I greatly prefer to see truth coming forward in its own might and strength than to see a man making himself unamiable by the use of unmeasured language, which always gives cause to suspect there is pride at bottom. Let us reflect also that God is a spectator of this contest: He who knows better than we ourselves the spirit in which we act. Let us also consider that not only the whole of Germany but the whole of Christendom, not only the present but future centuries to the end of time are our judges, and that they will form a juster judgment of this matter, because they will be less infected by passion." With a tender pastoral fidelity he sought to prevent this conflict from disturbing the peace and interests of the renovated Church; and with this object in view, he composed all his first treatises in the Latin language, that the

subject might be discussed among the learned, and that only after they had come to a solution of it, it might descend to the common people. "It was my opinion," he writes to Luther, "that you also should conduct this dispute in the Latin language, that it might be first sifted by the learned, and the community only then be made acquainted with it when a satisfactory solution had been arrived at." But Luther disappointed this well conceived intention. With the impetuosity of his character, he threw the gauntlet amongst the people, and strove to rouse and animate them against Zwingli and his friends. When this subject came, however, to be discussed among the people, Luther and his friends found to their deep disappointment, that their measures had produced entirely opposite results to that which they anticipated. They then, in direct opposition to the principles they had formerly propounded in reference to the freedom of the Church, made themselves guardians or tutors of the people. They got prohibitions passed against the dissemination of the writings of Zwingli and Ecolampad, and caused their followers, in various places, to be persecuted; "For now," wrote Luther to the landgrave of Hessen, "it is a war to the knife with the Sacramentalists," as Zwingli and his friends were called by their opponents. Zwingli was deeply grieved and justly indignant at this behaviour of Luther and his party. He tenderly upbids the wounds of the Christians, who found themselves lacerated in their inmost souls by this strife, in these words: "Hold, dear Christians, *to the Lord*; not to Paul, nor Peter, nor Luther, nor Zwingli. It is evidence of a weak, not to say sluggish faith to plain, 'to which side shall I now turn, as these two hold different opinions.' For who are we, that none are to dissent from our opinions? Is it not a true saying, that every man is a liar? Cling, then, to the Lord, and carry on His work unweariedly, and give no countenance even to the most learned, or to the most pious, to imagine it is a sin if any be not of their opinion." In reference to the prohibition of his books, in total abnegation of the principles of Christian freedom, which Zwingli had brought so powerfully into play against the popedom, Zwingli expresses himself in the following terms, in a writing against Dr Strauss:*

* This Dr. Strauss was a restless spirit, who had been thrown into prison at Eisenach, for insurrectionary attempts. He was now induced to publish a very

"Tell me, which of the two appear to have a suspicious cause. Those who allow the writings of their opponents to circulate freely and without violent restrictions, combating them in an open and manly way before their respective communities, or they who bark against their opponents before the simple-minded, write publicly against them, and calumniate them in writings, which they very much recommend to the perusal of their flocks; but when their antagonists reply or explain, shout instantly, while they prohibit their writings, "they are not to be listened to at all; a grosser heresy has never lifted its head?" Which think you separate from the Word of God and his Church? You or we? We let your writings, the pope's, and every anti-Christ's writings be freely read, and combat your errors alone with the sword of the Word of God.* You, on the other hand, mean to accomplish your objects by prohibitions. You, Strauss, do this, and others besides you, and you mean to introduce a new power and tyranny amongst us? What has the pope done but issue the command: 'Let that alone. Don't read that. It is heretical?' When you now, in like manner, banish the truth from your churches, what are you but new popes, who deprive the community of their free judgment, and move the princes just as the pope did to protect your errors. This is departure from the Word of God; this is separation and schism. But the path to unity is to allow freedom to all, to bring before the congregation everything that can make for or against an opinion, and then to leave the people to judge for themselves. For God is not a God of division, but of unity; He will not allow those to err who are assembled

rigmarole work against "the unwholesome doctrine of Magister Zwingli." *Æcolampad* was of opinion Zwingli should not waste time upon him. He, however, answered him more from regard to the Margrave of Baden than to Strauss.

* In another place, Zwingli thus describes the position he takes up to the writings of his antagonists: "We forbid no doctrine to be brought before the Church, be it rank popery, or Lutheran refined, or be it muddy and dirty, and therefore quite unlike Luther, (whose name in German admits of a pun, in the sense of pure, clear.) We stand over it, however, with the thrashing flail of the Word of God, and winnow and sift it properly. We then find in many a writing that it has not more substance than corn in a bad year; it is sheer chaff. Your polemical writings too may be freely read among us, but when they are thoroughly thrashed, they yield little else but straw and chaff. They are like the fig-tree that makes a great appearance with its leaves, but on which there is no fruit."

together in his Spirit; He will cause peace, unity, and concord to effloresce in the churches." Thus Zwingli, at the same time that he defended the honest convictions of his soul, defended ecclesiastical liberty against that new species of tutelage to which Luther and his followers would subject it.

While Luther thought he must bring prominently forward his great merits as a Reformer compared to Zwingli, in such language as: "We dare vaunt ourselves that Christ has been first preached by us. If the popedom were as terrible as of old, these people would be as still as mice. But now Zwingli reproaches us with denying Christ. Such is the reward we get for acknowledging these people;*" our Reformer satisfied himself, in reply to such groundless imputations, with a simple defence of his own independent part in the work of Reformation. "When you make the boast that you were the first to lug forth the Bible from under the bench, you go, methinks, too far. If we examine who by their philological acquirements made it first known, we shall find it was, some years ago, Valla,† and in our own times, Erasmus, the pious Reuchlin and Pettikan. Without their assistance, neither you nor others had effected what has now been done—I mean in so far as the work may be ascribed to man. But who dare boast himself? Is it not God alone who gives the increase? Are not Paul's words here in their place, 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7: 'I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase;' and 'Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be the praise.' On the other hand, I shall gladly recognise your merits. Although there were not a few, my good Luther, who knew the sum and substance of true religion as well as yourself, yet none in all Israel dared to come forward to the fight, so terribly they feared that dreadful Goliath that stood opposed to them in his full panoply

* This statement of Luther is untrue. Although he nowhere recognised the merits of Zwingli, we see how the latter mentions him, page 76.

† Laurentius Valla was born at Piacenza, 1416. He had laboured in many of the towns of Italy as a teacher, with great acceptance. He laid the Church under obligations to him by his historical researches, and by his notes on the New Testament, to which Zwingli here refers. Much persecuted by the monks, he died at Rome, 1465.

and power. Here, here you were the true David, anointed by the Lord for the work. Wherefore, all believing souls will never cease to sing with joy and gladness, 'Saul hath slain his thousands, but David his tens of thousands. Now, as for myself, dear Luther, I have ever revered my teachers as fathers. If, then, out of the fulness which God has granted to you, anything had flowed to me, why should I not acknowledge it? Why, above all, if I had learned the contents of the gospel from you, should not I confess it? But I shall candidly tell you how it is. There were many distinguished men, long before the name of Martin Luther became famous, who truly recognised in what the essence of religion consisted, and who were instructed by very different teachers from those whom you suppose. For in respect of myself, I testify before God that I learned the substance and chief contents of the gospel partly by the perusal of John and the writings of Augustine, and partly by the diligent study of the Epistles of Paul in the original Greek, which, with this hand, I copied out eleven years ago, (1516,) eight of which years you have been ruling like a king." In such a modest and amiable spirit Zwingli answered Luther's hard words, never for an instant forgetting that they stood *upon the same basis of faith*. While he repelled Faber, who sought to extract advantage from this dispute between him and Luther in the preliminary skirmish before the Baden Disputation, with the observation, "Luther and I will be truly *one* without your interference, for we have one faith in Jesus Christ," he endeavoured to bring Luther himself to the consciousness of this unity in faith, reminding him of the contest between Paul and Barnabas, on Mark's account, as told to us in Acts xviii., "Here, in truth, the noblest vessel and armoury of God, Paul, was in the wrong. For why should not Mark join them in the work of the gospel, he having never denied it, although he had left them in Pamphylia, and had gone to Jerusalem? Here Barnabas, a decisive, resolute, but at the same time mild and temperate Christian, was in the right, while Paul was in the wrong. Although the dispute betwixt them waxed so hot that they parted from one another, yet they were again *one*. For Paul, in 1 Cor. ix., which he wrote long after their dissension, makes honourable mention of Barnabas. We then humbly pray Luther, by the same spirit in which we all live, in which he has preached

the gospel, as we also believe it, by the same spirit in which, at the last day, we shall have wished to preach it, to reflect that he is not exalted above error, since Paul himself, in the heat of temper, went too far, who yet, in respect of doctrine and holiness, is equal to, or even surpasses, all the apostles. We know Luther's courageous advance against the Papacy, when none ventured it. We know, at the same time, however, which, with God's grace, he will also admit, that his knowledge and learning are but of moderate dimensions; let him therefore beware lest the devil tempt him to pride. God has given him strength of soul enough, let him turn it to His glory, and sure we are that we shall be in all respects one with him. May the God of truth grant this. Amen."*

While Zwingli in this contest was much superior to his antagonist in the clear establishment of his position by passages from the Word of God, which to every unprejudiced mind must be convincing, he at the same time greatly excelled him in the pious delicacy and reserve with which he handled things sacred. How wisely and tenderly selected are the images by which he illustrated his conception of the significance of the Supper. It is enough to remind the reader of the image of the royal marriage-ring, and of that of the sun. We cannot, however, restrain ourselves from mentioning a third, which he made use of in his sermon at Berne to represent that the bread and wine of the Eucharist distinguishes itself above all other bread and wine, in significance if not in substance. "The flower in the phillet of the bride is far more glorious there than if it stood alone and for itself, although the same flower. Thus, likewise, the stuff and substance of the bread in the Holy Supper is the same as in other bread, but the dignity and solemnity of this holy transaction lends to it a peculiar character, that in this respect it is not like other bread, but holy bread." Luther, on the other hand,

* Can there be a greater contrast than that of Luther's language in reply to the above of Zwingli? "Well, then, since they are so abandoned, and make a mock of all men, I shall give them a Lutheran warning, saying, Cursed be such love and union into the abyss of hell, because such union not only tears miserably the Church in pieces, but, after the manner of the devil, mocks at and befools it. No, 'tis not for me, dear friends of peace and love. If, after having murdered the father, mother, wife, and children of a man, whose own life I intended to take, I should turn and say to him, Let us have peace, dear brother.

often gave way to rude and coarse expressions,* which Zwingli always encountered with meekness, or at most, with some "cheerful witticism," as he expresses himself. An example of this kind is to be found in his address to the Christians at Esslingen, in which he is led to give way to his sense of the ludicrous, by the dark and confused combination of the ideas "fleshly" and "spiritually," on the part of the Lutherans. "When we say," he writes, "we have *one* faith with them, to wit, confidence in the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, and this is 'to eat His flesh,' and 'drink His blood,' they reply to us, 'Oh! but there is another eating of His flesh, and drinking of His blood, to wit, a "spiritual-fleshly." On our objecting, 'To eat the flesh fleshly profits nothing,' they reply, 'Nay, that is all done spiritually; you don't understand it, and are infidels, fanatics, hypocrites, and revolutionists.' Mark, I pray of you, which of us is false and fanatical. We speak according to the Word of God, which teaches us that 'to eat Christ,' is 'to believe on Christ,' John vi. 35; you make an invention of your own, and speak of a fleshly-spiritual eating, which is an idea somewhat resembling 'a wooden poker.' Judge your own-selves which of us be fanatics—we who give so clear a sense to spiritual eating, setting the fleshly eating behind it, or you, who

we shall be good friends, the matter is not so great that we should quarrel about it, what should he say to me? How dearly he ought to love me! Now, the fanatics murder Christ my Lord, and God the Father in His Word, my mother Christianity, along with my brethren, and they would slay myself, and they say I ought to be at peace with them—we ought to cultivate love towards each other!"

* Having once pronounced the extraordinary idea, that the body of Christ is everywhere present, in every leaf, in every grass-stalk, on the table, and under the table, he goes on: "Now there come other fanatics who pretend, 'Is it so? Is Christ's body at all corners? Oh, then, I'll gobble and drink Him up in the wine-houses, in plates, glasses, and pots; there is then no difference betwixt my table and the Lord's table! Oh, how we shall eat Him up!' Such scandalous swine are we incorrigible Germans that we have neither sense nor reason, and when we hear of God we pay as little respect as if the subject were a Merry Andrew. And God knows I write such things very unwillingly, because I know it must come among such dogs and swine. But what am I to do? The fanatics are responsible for it, who compel me to it. Now, listen to this, you sow, dog, or fanatic, you who are but an unreasoning ass, you will not so soon eat, drink, and handle Him as you suppose, although Christ's body is everywhere present; nor shall I speak with you of such things. Go, sow, into your sty." We can assure our readers that this passage is by no means the most striking proof for the statement in the text.

make a painted representation with words, that is neither understood nor believed by any creature on earth. If I understand the word 'fanatic' aright, those fanaticise who, by things which they do not understand, fall into a passion, and talk arrant nonsense, at the same time persuading men they themselves understand it very well, others do not. They act like that impostor of a painter who pretended to the younkens he painted churches, but, if they were not legitimately born, they could not see them. Now the younkens would pass for legitimate, and they one and all acknowledged they saw the churches. It is so in our case. When some great doctor blusters and says, 'He who believes not this is no Christian,' each is ready to swallow it, and let himself pass for a prim, pious, and Sunday Christian."

Among Zwingli's friends and followers who took part in the polemical war against Luther, there was no one who more distinguished himself than Leo Jud, who brought together, in a special publication, the views of Luther and Erasmus, as they maintained them before the outbreak of the dispute, in order to establish that at that time they spoke of the spiritual presence of Christ, and the spiritual partaking of Christ, in precisely the same terms as Zwingli now did. This work, however, which appeared under the assumed name of Ludovicus Leopoldus, instead of opening the way, as it ought to have done, to a reconciliation with Luther, had the directly contrary effect in the opinion of Lavater.* Luther was profoundly offended at the reproach, that he stood in open contradiction to himself, though made in terms the most sparing to his feelings. Ecclampad's participation in the contest was of greater importance to Zwingli's cause. Endowed with a rare meekness and suavity of temper, he brought his solid learning into the service of his venerated friend, and while Zwingli directed his attention principally to establishing the accordance of his doctrine with Scripture, Ecclampad undertook to prove its agreement with the opinions of the orthodox fathers. The activity of both in their separate provinces filled up the proof in beautiful harmony and completion, while each, in the spirit of a staunch friendship, was ready to repel any false accusation directed against the other. There occur to us here

† Lewis Lavater, Zwingli's third successor at the Great Minister of Zurich, published a valuable history of the Sacramental Controversy.

the words Ecolampad used to the fourteen Suabian pastors, who, in a polemical writing entitled "The Syngramin,"* directed against himself, thought it their duty to depreciate Zwingli. He defended his friend, and replied, "Did you know how much he does and suffers for Christ, you would certainly shew him greater honour."

On the side of the Lutherans, there took part in this controversy chiefly the Wittenberg town-pastor Bugenhagen or Pomeranus,† John Brenz, pastor in Schwaebish-Hall, Wilibald Pirkheimer,‡ Osiander in Nuenberg, and some others of less note.

* John Brenz, with thirteen of his colleagues, published this polemical book, which will be reviewed in the life of Ecolampad. He studied at Wittenberg, and was always a faithful follower of Luther, by whom he was much and frequently commended.

† Bugenhagen was a native of Pomerania, and usually went by the name of Pomeranus, from the place of his birth. His attack against Zwingli was contained in a published letter addressed to Pastor Hess of Breslau, and as Schenkel well remarks, displays just as profound a comprehension of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Supper, as that which is to be found in most Lutheran polemical works of the present day. He manifests no comprehension at all of Zwingli's specific standing-point, and doltishly reproaches him with "confounding the little word 'is' with 'signifies,'" saying that in this his whole theology consists. This insignificant production received at the hands of Zwingli a thorough and masterly refutation, of which it was not at all worthy.

‡ Wilibald Pirkheimer was at an earlier period much more attached to Zwingli than to Luther; he had, like the Zurich Reformer, enjoyed a classical education. It is remarkable, that the men who had been so educated, but who yet had not soared into the higher regions of a living Christian faith, and thus had not penetrated into the sanctuary of Christian truth itself, but were content to take up their position in the outer court of the Gentiles, were at first greatly prejudiced against Luther. They feared from his ardent and strenuous labours in the faith, which made light of all their select forms, injury to the cause of the newly awakened classical culture. Such men were Erasmus of Basle, Dr. Zasius of Freiburg, Briesgau the famous jurist, and Pirkheimer. Zwingli, who united to their classical tastes Luther's lofty and far-reaching faith, defended him in letters addressed to them, and compared Luther in a letter to Zasius with the prophet Elias. With Erasmus he had a rupture on Luther's account; for, highly as he honoured classical culture, and those who possessed it, and above all Erasmus, faith stood still higher in his estimation. Upon the outbreak of the Supper-controversy, all the men of the above stamp defended the much more Roman Catholic ideas of Luther, and repaid Zwingli's noble-minded efforts at mediation between them at an earlier period, by joining the former in proclaiming the doctrine and person of the Zurich Reformer heretical and damnable. Luther manifested his grateful sense of this favour, especially towards Pirkheimer, by assuming as true all the perversions of Zwingli's doctrine which the latter had allowed himself in his polemical writings, instead of examining Zwingli's writings for himself, and it was from so false a standing-point as this, that Luther combatted Zwingli and his doctrine. (Compare what Ebrard says in the second vol. of his *Dogma of the Supper*.)

If we glance at the result of this contest for both parties, we shall find it was much more favourable for Zwingli and his friends than they might have been led to anticipate. Our Reformer, however, possessed far too profound a knowledge of the human heart, and of the motives which influence the great majority in their opinions and judgments, not to be well aware how difficult was the stand that pure and naked truth had to make against the gigantic power of prejudice and traditionary belief on the side of Luther. "I know," he says, "how difficult it is to combat a delusion that has struck its roots deep into the hearts of all. For our very veneration of Christ seems to justify a vehement defence of those outward signs, which we call sacraments; and we think if we acquit ourselves of this task, we have done some great thing, while our first object ought to be more and more to resemble the great Master, whose name we bear. The contest is dangerous with so many and so furious enemies. For each will pass for most pious, by raging most furiously." Although, however, his position was a difficult one, and although Luther, not only by the wonder-working power of his richly metaphorical and popular language set the whole mass of popular prejudices in motion for his view, but also threw into the scale the whole weight of his personal authority and personal convictions and passions, Zwingli's cause travelled on from one victory to another, while he, as he says himself, always allowed the truth to appear in her own person, and with her own powerful authority, nor made her disagreeable by the use of unmeasured language, which always gives reason to suspect pride; inasmuch as the simple-minded and single-hearted Christian much more gladly listens to truth, when she makes her appearance in her own simple robe, than when she stalks forth oppressed with a load of ornaments, and proceeds to hector and to bully.

Thus Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper spread rapidly through the whole of Switzerland, forwarded by the convincing advocacy of his writings, which breathed the spirit of Christian mildness and charity, admirably blended with manly resolution and sound sense. While at the religious disputation in Berne 1528, an overwhelming number of the preachers and men of learning from Switzerland, Southern Germany, and Strasburg, with the exception of Althainer of Nurnberg, and Burgauer of St. Gall, gave in

their adhesion to his doctrine; the clergy of the Margraviate of Baden, with the exception of Dr. Strauss, were not behind in expressing their concurrence, and as Zwingli could count upon at least the half of the population of Augsburg, the preachers of that town gave publication to similar views with his own, in a writing which they issued on Palm Sunday 1527. "As God in the Old Testament commanded that His mercy and redemption should be yearly commemorated at the feast of the Passover, without doubt, for the purpose of awakening true confidence in Him, who is alone able and willing to save, so Christ our Redeemer, in the last Supper immediately preceding His sufferings and death, commanded his disciples, while he himself fed them with faith, seriously to ponder his unmeasurable love towards us in the work of redemption, saying, 'This do in remembrance of me.' And Paul says, 'Ye do shew the Lord's death till he come,' without doubt that our confidence towards him as to our only Redeemer, may be awakened, strengthened, and sustained, if so be that we bear in mind that the Son of God himself has taken upon Him our sins, and is the true Paschal lamb which taketh away sin, for He hath given His body as a propitiatory sacrifice for us, and hath poured out His blood for the pardon of our sins, to cleanse our conscience from dead works, and to confirm the New Testament, the covenant of grace betwixt God and us, that our sins are forgiven, and that we are endowed with a right understanding of God, are become his people, and he our God, as he hath promised us, Jer. xxxi." Ebrard observes that this conception of the significance of the Supper closely resembles Zwingli's.

But even in places where Luther and his party could recklessly proclaim their views, Zwingli had resolute adherents of his doctrine. At the instance of Pirkheimer and Osiander, who in their polemical works surpassed even their exemplar in Wittenberg in passionate vituperations of the Swiss, Zwingli's writings had been prohibited in Nurnberg; yet here John Haner and the famous painter, Albrecht Durer,* had the courage to espouse and defend his doctrine. Nay, in Wittenberg itself, he

* In an interchange of words which he had with Pirkheimer upon this subject, the latter said, "what you say cannot be painted." Upon which Durer replied, "But what you say cannot be *written*, not to speak of painting."

and thus to prevent the great scandal, which would inevitably accrue to the Reformed Church, through an open dissension of opinion. Zwingli they begged, in the meantime, not to reply to Luther's invectives, and they sent to Luther, as early as 1525, Gregorius Chaselius, professor of Hebrew, to represent to him and his friends what a dangerous conflagration might arise if so bitter and intemperate writings as they had published against Zwingli should be answered by him in the same spirit, at the very time that they ought, with combined energy, to combat the power of the Pope. They might interpret the words of institution of the Holy Supper in the manner which they thought to be consistent with truth, rejecting all they held erroneous and false; but they ought to bear in mind those great truths which they held in common with the Swiss, and regard and recognise them as brethren. Chaselius was to embrace this opportunity of imparting to Luther and his friends a better opinion of Zwingli and Œcolampad, one more correspondent with truth, and more consistent with the great services they had rendered to the Church of Christ.

Gladly as Zwingli, out of love to peace, acceded to the desires of his Strasburg friends, stern and obdurate was the demeanour of Luther. "Satan," said he, in a work in which he replied to them, "is not a man, nor the world, but a prince, and the god of the world. Who should not rejoice that Zwingli and Œcolampad's holiness, and their churches, are so much lauded by you? Yet I cannot well comprehend what you understand under this holiness and these churches. We dare boast that Christ was first proclaimed by us. If they be assured of their faith, let them come forward and convict us of error. Either they or we must be the devil's servants, there is therefore here no place for counsel or mediation. 'What communion hath Christ with Belial?'" In this manner, the bands of mediation, knit by Christian love, were torn asunder by Luther's rude hand, and the union sought after ruthlessly stifled. He drew Bucer himself into the contest in the end, while all hope vanished from the meek and temperate Capito, of reconciling with his opponents, "the furious Orestes," as he calls Luther, in a letter to Zwingli. But there was another who mourned over the rent that these controversies spread through the Reformed Church, who formed the resolution of working out

an understanding and reconciliation. This was the highly intellectual preacher, John Haner,* first of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, afterwards of Nurnberg. It was he who induced the noble-minded and richly-gifted landgrave, Philip von Hessen, to undertake the task of mediation between the angry brethren. In March 1529, the opening of the second Diet at Speyer, so important for the reformed Church, took place, at which, under Faber's and Eck's influence, it was resolved, 24th March, with an overwhelming majority: "Where the edict of Worms, (which had in view the suppression and extirpation of the Reformation,) has been put in force, all religious innovation, as hitherto, remains forbidden; but where it has been departed from, and where its introduction without tumult is not possible, no farther steps at least, shall be taken in reformation, no questions of controversy shall be discussed, the Mass shall not be forbidden, no Catholic shall pass over to Lutheranism, the Episcopal jurisdiction shall not be declined, and *neither Anabaptists nor Sacramentalists† shall be tolerated.*" The reformed princes and deputies of towns handed in against this resolution the famous Protest, "*because the majority has no power in questions of conscience.*" In reference to the suppression of the Reformation, the Protest said: "Although it be generally known that in our states the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord is administered in a proper and befitting manner, we cannot accept the terms of the edict against the Sacramentalists, because the Imperial letter of convocation has not spoken of them, because they have not been tried, and nothing can be decided on so important a matter before the next general Council." The adherents of Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper owed this just regard to their interests as much to the skilful and influential mediation of the landgrave Philip von Hessen, and Sheriff James Sturm of Strasburg, as to the sense of justice of the other Protestant princes and deputies, Melancthon also, who had come to Speyer with the Elector of Saxony, writes: "What just reproaches would we draw upon ourselves by con-

* John Haner writes afterwards, in December 1529, to Bucer, on this subject: "I was the first who took the trouble of persuading the landgrave, Von Hessen, to attempt a reconciliation between the contending parties, and this took place even as early as the first Diet at Speyer."

† So the adherents of Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper were called after the example of Luther.

demning a doctrine without having heard those who would defend it." Eck and Faber's plan of dividing the Evangelicals, in order the more easily to suppress them, was thus frustrated. Upon Philip von Hessen's, however, desiring to form a defensive alliance between the reformed princes and towns, to hold in check the papal party who were closely united under the Archduke Ferdinand, the princes under the influence of Luther refused to join it unless the adherents of Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper would give up their opinions, and accept Luther's doctrine of the sacrament. On this account the Landgrave felt himself the more induced to enter into Haner's proposal, and to endeavour to effect an understanding and reconciliation between the two Reformers. With this object in view, he invited from Speyer Zwingli and Luther, with their friends, to a disputation upon the subject of dispute, at Marburg, and wrote on the 9th May 1529 to Zwingli: "We are at present busily engaged in bringing together to a suitable place of meeting Luther, Melancthon, and others, who are nearly of your opinion upon the sacrament, to see if the almighty and merciful God would grant us grace to compare the said article of belief upon the foundation of Holy Scripture, and enable us to live in a harmonious and unanimous understanding upon the point, for at this Diet the papists knew not better to defend their perversions, abuses, and corruptions, than by saying that we who pretend to cling to the pure Word of God are not united in doctrine and faith among ourselves; and verily if we were united, their knavery would soon come to an end. Wherefore our most gracious request to you is, that you would use your best endeavours to put the matter upon a right foundation, and bring us all to one Christian and unanimous sentiment." Zwingli was ready at once to accept the invitation of the Landgrave, although he would rather have seen Strasburg, or some other town more between Wittenberg and Zurich fixed upon as the meeting-place of the conference. "If, however," he answers the Landgrave, "Marburg is to be the place of meeting, I shall pray the Lord that He may conduct me safely thither to the praise of His glory. And I shall, indeed, repair thither, even although my lords of the Council should not be quite agreed about it, if only it be not against the will of God, and the weal of His Church; for I entertain the confident hope that the ray

of truth, when we come together, will enlighten our eyes, so that we shall give the honour to truth, and let her reign." The town-sheriff, James Sturm, who supported the Landgrave's invitation to Zwingli, expressed his hope that, "as the prince was ardently desirous of his presence, he might, if not with his opponents, with the prince himself, effect much good, and I have every confidence that it will be to the glory of God, and the general advantage." At Zwingli's request, the landgrave, in two separate letters, had besought the Councils of Zurich to grant the Reformer the necessary leave of absence to attend this friendly (not disputatious) conference. The little Council were unable to make up their mind upon the conceding of this request, and finally they resolved to leave the decision in the hands of the great Council, conceiving they could not well dispense, in the then dangerous position of the country, (immediately after the Capeller war,) with the advice and assistance of Zwingli, and also that they ought not to expose the excellent man to the dangers of so distant a journey in part through a hostile territory. Zwingli, with whom anxiety for the union and peace of the reformed Church outweighed every political and personal consideration, thought it best not to await the decision. He took the road on the night preceding the first month of harvest, accompanied by Professor Collinus* from Zurich to Basle, leaving behind him a letter addressed to the little and great Councils, in which he explained the motives that led him to take this step. "The lords of the common Council," he says, "not having expressly refused me leave of absence, but having resolved to bring the matter before you on the ensuing week, I feared, on the one hand, that your Worships might not concede my request, while, on the other hand, something has, in the meantime, transpired to precipitate affairs, so that I am unwilling to wait till next week. While realising the present state of warlike matters, the dangers, the scarcity, which might induce me to remain here, I have also considered the grace of the ever faithful God, who has never abandoned us, and who will overrule all for the well-being of His own people, and for His own glory. I have therefore in haste taken the road, because I foresaw, from your great fidelity towards me,

* According to the account of Bernhard Uriss the bookseller, Christoffel Froschauer accompanied him also.

and the care you have of me, you would not have given me any leave of absence at all." After acknowledging the great dangers to which he exposes himself, he continues: "It appeared to me not proper that I should be absent, because a full deliberation would have been thereby rendered impossible, and the journey of many excellent men of the opposite party have been made in vain. And they might have interpreted my non-appearance to a desire to shun so friendly a conference. On which account I most humbly beseech your Worships not to interpret my hasty departure to any slighting of your authority, contempt of which I cannot bear to see in others, but to reflect that my absence from the conference might prejudice the truth, and your good name. Finally, my lords, have good hope towards God, that if He permit us to reach the end of our journey, He will grant to us His help to defend resolutely His truth, and not to disgrace His Church." He farther begs that as the men of Basle had resolved to send along with Ecolampad a deputy of the Council, (Ralph Frei had been appointed,) they would send after him Councillor Ulrich Funk to Basle. "The chief men of my most gracious lords being so bowed down with age and bodily infirmity as to make a long journey too onerous for them; for we shall have to ride through dark pathless woods, through bush and brake, to which hardships not every one may be exposed." In conclusion, he recommends them and his journey with all the faithful to the protection of God. His departure was so secret that it was only at Basle he begged Master Stoll "to mention to his wife as much as it was expedient for a wife to know; for I took leave of her without letting her know anything more than that I had gone to Basle, where I had some business to transact."

During his absence Comthur Conrad Schmidt preached for him, a very talented, courageous, and learned man, as Bullinger calls him. Zwingli's enemies leapt for joy when they heard of his secret departure. "He has taken leg bail with the rogues," said some; "the devil appeared to him and ran off with him," said others. In Graubund a report was circulated he was drowned at Bruck, along with four Councillors. Such malicious and absurd stories were, as Bullinger observes, invented and told without number. The Zurich Council resolved, in the end, to grant the leave of absence, and sent after him, without delay,

Councillor Ulrich Funk, with a servant, and a safe-conduct-box to Basle, where the Reformer had happily arrived, and was lodged with his dear friend Œcolampad. On the 6th of September the two Reformers went on board a vessel with some reliable merchants, and in thirteen hours reached Strasburg by water, and proceeded straight to the house of Canon Matthias Zett.* Here they sojourned till the 22d September; Zwingli preached with great acceptance in the town. They then proceeded on their journey, accompanied by the Town-Sheriff James Sturm, and the ministers Bucer and Hedio, by a circuitous route through the territory of the Palatine of Zweibruecken to the Hessian fortified town of St. Goar, and from hence, under Hessian escort, in the company of the Councillor James of Taubenheim, to Marburg, where they arrived on the 29th September, and took up their quarters in the first house eastward of the Bears'-Well.

In sad contrast to the gladsome readiness with which Zwingli exposed himself to the dangers of a distant journey, his serene courage, the joyous hope that animated him, that the proposal of the Landgrave might turn out to the honour of Christian truth and Christian love; in sad contrast to this, is the mood of mind in which Luther and Melanchthon regarded the Conference, and the secret arts they employed to prevent its being holden at all. Melanchthon wrote to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, begging him *to deny to Luther and himself leave of absence for the journey*; for Luther feared: "It might neither be good nor salutary to speak much upon the subject with their opponents, seeing there was no hope at present of bringing, at least, the heads of the party to a better way of thinking. I know, however," he continues, "how much this matter lies at the heart of the landgrave, and fear that if Luther should decline this Conference with his opponents his Highness might then manifest no small favour and condescension to Zwingli. The doctrine of our opponents is, besides, extremely attractive, and rejoices in the assent of very many men having a great name for learning in Ger-

* His wife, the learned Catherine Zett, so famous by her correspondence with Superintendent Rabus, writes in one of her letters to Rabus: "I was fourteen days maid and cook when the dear homely men Œcolampad and Zwingli were here at Strasburg, in the year twenty-nine (1529), in the journey, along with our folks to Marburg to Dr. Luther."

many;* on this account a conference is all the more dangerous. But most lamentable of all is the singular demand, 'that in the event of the Conference's taking place, some of the *Papists should be admitted*, in the capacity of impartial witnesses, as otherwise, no impartial judges being present, the Zwinglians might easily boast of victory.'† Upon the Elector's declining to do this hole and corner work which Luther and Melanchthon suggested to him, they turned to the Landgrave. Melanchthon, among other things, wrote to him, "Martin fears that no good fruit will come of this Conference. Wherefore, ought it not to be a matter of consideration whether or not it be good to undertake it at all?" Meanwhile, Melanchthon passed his time in unspeakable anxiety on the subject, and bitterly repented that he had not consented, at the Diet of Spire, to the condemnation of Zwingli and his adherents. Luther wrote to the Landgrave: "Although I have but poor hopes of such a peace, your Royal Highness' zeal and care in this matter are much to be commended, &c. &c., for in truth I will not leave the opposite party the glory of being more inclined to peace and union than I am. But I have especially to beg that your Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to ascertain if this party be at all inclined to recede from their opinion, for if not the evil will be aggravated. For of what use is a meeting and a conference, if both parties are determined not to yield? It appears to me as if they sought, through the zeal of

* "Did it stand thus with Luther's lauded confidence in the self-evident clearness and simplicity of his doctrine?" inquires Ebrard.

† Melanchthon sought to defend this very strange proposal, by saying that the Papists, when they saw the Lutherans and Zwinglians collecting together in a large body, might say, with some shew of reason, they were hatching a conspiracy against the Emperor. But Ebrard justly observes: "He does not desire to have the Papists present simply as witnesses that no conspiracy was forming against the Emperor, (by theologians!) but, in fact, as umpires, to the end that the Swiss might have the worst of it. It is here evident that behind the lofty-sounding phrases of Luther of the immovable certainty of his doctrine, and the contemptibleness of his opponents, there lay concealed the greatest anxiety and fear on his part, lest these very adversaries might carry off the victory in public estimation. So he says, 'It is not well that the landgrave has much to do with the Zwinglians; he has more inclination to them than is good. The matter is of that kind that it easily affects men of acute minds, such as I hold the Landgrave to be.' Thus he was so far untrue to himself and his own honour as to desire papistical auxiliaries in this matter as 'impartial.'"—EBRARD, "The Dogma of the Holy Supper," Second Part, page 304.

your Grace, to effect a piece of work out of which no good will come. I know the devil well, and what he seeks, but may God grant that I be here no prophet. For if there were not some base design, and if they really were in earnest after peace, they had hardly entered upon the affair so grandly, and with the aid of so mighty and great princes; for by God's grace we are not so wild and profligate. They might long ago, and even still, by writing, have made their humble endeavours to obtain peace, as they boast of having made them. For I know well that I shall not yield to them a hairbreadth; nor can I, because I am perfectly certain that they are in the wrong, while they, on the other hand, are in doubt. And this is sure, that if we do not yield, we shall separate from one another without fruit."* The Landgrave had just as little disposition to give way to these scruples as the Elector of Saxony, and so Luther was forced to make up his mind to the journey to Marburg, however reluctantly, if he would not positively offend the Landgrave, and throw him entirely on the side of Zwingli. Accompanied by Justus Jonas, Melancthon, Caspar Cruciger, Frederick Mecum, Justus Menius, and the Chur-Saxon Ammann von der Tann, who was given him for

* Ebrard remarks upon this in his "Dogma of the Supper," Second Part, page 306. "How naïve! Zwingli is *challenged* to a public disputation, and is willing to come. Luther is full of anxiety, but now blames Zwingli for having sought and occasioned the disputation, and again that he wavers in his opinion. Luther will not leave the glory of pacification to his adversary, but requires he should have testified in writing 'his humble endeavours for peace,' and demands this from one who, for years long, had replied to his outbreaks of passion in an humble and pacific spirit. He assures him 'we are not so wild and profligate.' Luther demonstrates the inutility of a disputation where 'both parties come together with the resolution not to yield,' and concludes from hence that Zwingli must yield, for he (Luther) will come with the resolve not to yield a hairbreadth. What self-irony! Luther did not come to prove and to weigh, free of prejudice, the arguments of his opponent, but from the very first to reject them. He did not come with any confidence in the truth of his doctrine, that it would sustain a fair trial, but he came concealing behind the pretensions which he put forward that his adversary from the first, that is before the hearing and examination of the arguments of both the parties, should make the promise that he was willing to yield; he came concealing behind this *the fear*, the consciousness of the factitious character and impotency of his own arguments. He did not come with the consciousness of being a man liable to err, whose mind, however clear and well-intentioned, was yet of limited capacity, but he came with the consciousness of unerringness and infallibility, he came in a subtle *self-deification*, which cannot be denied."

escort, Luther took his way over Halle, Gotha, and Eisenach. Not finding at Kreuzburg, on the Hessian frontier, any written assurance of safe-conduct through the country of the Landgrave, he could not resolve on proceeding, but waited till he received a formal letter of safe-conduct from Philip.* The Landgrave was very angry at this exhibition of mistrust. "Zwingli," said he, "has come hither with his people all the way from Switzerland without desiring from us a safe-conduct, while Luther demands one, as if he could not trust us." The Saxons arrived at Marburg on the 30th September, a day after the Swiss and Strasburg men, and put up at the Hotel of the Bear (No. 53 Bare-foot-friar Street.) The Landgrave, however, invited both parties, immediately after their arrival, to take up their residence at the Castle, hoping by this means to bring the leaders nearer, and to inspire them with friendly sentiments towards each other. Philip entertained them at the Castle in a right princely manner, so that Justus Jonas was led to make the observation, "We are treated thus magnificently in these Hessian woods, not from love to the Muses, but from a regard to the glory of God and of Christ."

According to an arrangement proposed by the Landgrave, Zwingli and Melanchthon, on the one hand, and Luther and Ecolampad, on the other, were to converse together, and endeavour to come to a mutual understanding, it being considered dangerous to permit the two more vehement leaders, excited as they were by the recent polemical war in which they had been engaged, to dispute all at once, while it was held that the way to an understanding could be more easily smoothed by Ecolampad and Melanchthon, who were meeker and more inclined to make concessions. On Friday the 1st October, Zwingli and Melanchthon were conducted, after public worship, into a private chamber, that these combatants might try their strength on one another. The Saxons having never taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the views and doctrines of the Swiss from their own writings, but having blindly adopted every report about their lives and doctrines, however absurd it might be,

* What a strong contrast does this pusillanimous anxiety present to the noble heroism which eight years before he shewed on his journey to Worms. The heroic spirit appears to have departed from him after he plunged into this unhappy controversy, bearing with him all his passions into it.

brought a long catalogue of heresies with them to Marburg, with which they intended to charge their adversaries. At the very commencement, Melanchthon had to learn that his conception of Zwingli's views was incorrect. He accused the Swiss Reformer of heterodoxy upon the divinity of Christ and the Trinity, while Zwingli proved that in both these doctrines he entirely concurred with the first creeds of the Church. To this singularly erroneous opinion, the Saxons had allowed themselves to be led astray by the report concerning a writing of the same Lewis Hetzer, who first commenced the breaking of the Church images in Switzerland, (see Fourth Section, Chapter vii.) in which he denied Christ's divinity and the Trinity, which writing, however, had been suppressed before publication at the intervention of Zwingli. In Luther and Melanchthon's rambling and confused notions about Swiss persons and events, Hetzer and Zwingli were confounded, so that, while they had hitherto laid to the charge of the latter, without any scruple, all the heresies of the former, Melanchthon was not a little astonished when Zwingli convinced him that he had nothing in common with these and similar fanatics, but, on the contrary, was at strife with them, being not less vilified and hated by them than Luther and Melanchthon were by Thomas Muenzer and his companions. The second heresy the Saxons laid to the charge of Zwingli related to his doctrine on original sin. From the distinction Zwingli drew between the original corruption of our nature, of which he had a deeper conception than most, and actual sin, they fancied, according to the false reports they had heard, that he denied original sin altogether, and placed the essence of sin in the actual outward deed, like the Pelagians and Papists. Here Melanchthon and he were at one, "that original sin is a defect derived from Adam, which renders it impossible for man to love God, and which damns him." In the same manner, Zwingli answered Melanchthon's empty accusation, that he denied, like Thomas Muenzer, the illumination of the Holy Spirit by the Word, explaining himself thus: "The Holy Ghost works in us justification through the Word preached and apprehended, that is, through the *soul and kernel* of the Word, through the thought and will of God wrapped up and

delivered in the human Word."* It was more difficult to come to an understanding on the doctrine of the Supper. Melanchthon avoided any profound discussion of this question, seeking, like an eel, to escape his opponent, and assuming a thousand forms like a proteus;† but he was soon made to experience that he was opposed to one who was not to be outdone by any such gymnastic dexterity, and who was perfectly able to keep a firm hold of the subject of examination, until it was more closely investigated. Zwingli took up a pen and wrote down the arguments, objections, and admissions of Melanchthon, so that he might not be able to shift or change his ground. The latter admitted that we *partake of the body and blood of Christ spiritually, by believing on Him, who hath given himself for us*. He likewise admitted that in John, chap. vi., the Lord speaks of corporeal eating, declaring it to be *profitless*, the Capernaumites fancying they were to eat His flesh corporeally, and drink His blood corporeally. He farther declared, that they, the Lutherans, did not hold the view that the body and blood of the Saviour were received into the mouth in any defined or gross manner, but that this body was truly partaken of, although in a manner hid from the sense of our faculties. To this, the reply was made by

Zwingli: This hidden manner, however, cannot be proved by Scripture.

Melanchthon: It is proved by the Lord saying, "This is my body, this is my blood."

Zwingli: The body of which the Lord speaks in these words is, however, alone His real material body, which can only be in one place, and not everywhere at the same time; as Augustine thus speaks of it.

Melanchthon: Although Augustine says it, I cannot accept it.

Zwingli: The Lord himself speaks thus, in reference to his body, in the Gospel of John xvii. 11: "And now I am no

* Dr. Julius Müller, in the third number of "Studies and Criticisms," year 1856, has admirably and most perspicuously developed the relation between the efficiency of the Holy Ghost, and the means of grace in the Word. The result of the investigations of this able divine very nearly agree with Zwingli's, although he makes no reference to him.

† The relation is taken from a confidential letter of Zwingli's to Vadian.

more in the world;" and in other passages he propounds the same truth.

Melanchthon: The words of Christ, "This is my body," are clear, and I adhere to them in their plain and simple sense.

Zwingli: It is a false assumption that your interpretation gives the clear sense of these words.

Not being able to come to an agreement on this point, they both agreed to break off the conference, which had already lasted six hours, and which, at least, impressed Melanchthon with the conviction that Zwingli was not "the ignorant fanatic" he had been often represented. In the conference betwixt Luther and *Æcolampad*, which lasted three hours, the former conducted himself in a manner which discovered so much obstinacy and presumption that *Æcolampad*, on passing Zwingli, whispered into his ear, "I have fallen on a second Dr. Eck."*

These interviews being declared ended on the Friday evening, Zwingli, confiding in the truth of his doctrine, and according to the principle which he always conceived himself bound to maintain, namely, that every Christian has the right and liberty, in all matters of religion, to form his opinions for himself, according to the rule of God's Word, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, expressed his desire that a public Disputation should be held, to which every one who wished it should have admission, and at which every one should be free to decide for himself what opinion he should adopt. While Luther, on the other hand, held it neither to be expedient nor salutary that the Disputation should be thrown open to every one, the landgrave and his councillors, in concurrence with Duke Ulrich, of Wirtemberg, decided this preliminary, to the effect that a select circle only of nobles and deputies, with the principal men of learning, especially of the Universities of Marburg and Wittenberg, should be present. There were accordingly but twenty-four auditors at the commencement of the Disputation, which number, however, was increased in the course of it, and rose to between fifty and sixty, on the arrival of John Brenz, Osiander, and Agricola (of

* *Æcolampad's* remark had reference to Eck's coarse and arrogant demeanour at the Baden Disputation. Certainly a heavy charge against Luther, but unfortunately one that was too well merited.

Augsburg.)* The Landgrave's Chancellor, John Feige, opened the Disputation, in a speech, in which he exhorted the members "that they should act, as had been done on like occasions, when learned men came together, who had previously written somewhat sharply against each other, that is, they should banish from their minds all ill-humour and bitterness of feeling. Whoever should do this would, at the same time, discharge his duty, and obtain glory and commendation. Others, however, who disregarded unity, and who obstinately persisted in some notion once adopted by them (the mother of all heresies), would thereby afford indubitable evidence against themselves that the Holy Spirit did not rule in their hearts."† The Landgrave, so simply attired that no one could have taken him for a prince, took his seat at the same table, at which Zwingli and Ecolampad, on the one side, Luther and Melancthon on the other, sat to decide whether the Reformed Evangelical Church, resting on one basis of faith, was henceforth to remain united, or whether it was to be rent into two great parties. The poet Cordus, cried in name of the Church to its here assembled leaders: "Puissant princes of the Word, whom the august hero Philip has called to avert from us schism, and to shew us the way of truth; the imploring church falls at your feet, drowned in tears, and conjures you, in Christ's name, to set forward the good cause, that the world may recognise in your resolutions the work of the Holy Ghost himself." Before the Conference began, Luther took up a piece of chalk, and, in large letters, he wrote upon the table the words, "This is my body," with the object, doubtless, that, when arguments failed, he might all the more firmly cling to the outward letter, since, verily, he was resolved not to yield a hairbreadth."

The Conference began between Luther and Ecolampad, Luther defending himself, in a long speech, against the imputation that he, in any respect, agreed with the doctrine of the Supper held

* When Zwingli speaks only of twenty-four, and Brenz of fifty or sixty, as being present, the difference is reconcilable, on the ground that Zwingli speaks of the number at the beginning, Brenz of that in the course, or at the end, of the Disputation. Luther having written to Brenz not to come to Marburg, and the latter having written to Osiander, and others, dissuading them from making their appearance, they did not arrive in Marburg till a day and a-half after the Disputation had begun.

† A very plain hint to Luther.

by his opponents; he was at variance with them here, and would be for ever so, Christ himself having said, with sufficient clearness, "Take, eat, this is my body."* By the letter of these words he would abide. If his adversaries had anything to advocate against the truth he would hear it, and answer it. *Ecolampad* replied, after calling upon God for illumination, "It is undeniable that, in the Word of God, figurative modes of expression occur; thus, for example, "John is Elias," "The rock was Christ," "I am the vine." A similar figure is contained in the words, "This is my body." Luther grants there are tropes in the Bible, but the latter passage is not one of these. He inquires: Why should the spiritual partaking exclude the corporeal?

Ecolampad: Christ teaches the Jews, John vi., who thought He exacted from them the eating of His real body, and the drinking of His real blood, that He was, in verity, eaten and drunk when He was believed upon, for that His flesh profited nothing! Now, that which Christ rejected in John vi. He cannot well be supposed to have admitted, or commanded, in the words of the Holy Supper.

Luther: The Jews thought they were to eat Christ like a piece of "roasted pork." By the spiritual partaking, the corporeal is not annulled.

Ecolampad: To impute such a sense to the words of Scripture is to give them a sense somewhat gross. That Christ is in the bread is a notion, and no subject of faith; it is dangerous to ascribe so much to the outward thing.

Luther: If we, at God's command, raise a straw-halm, or a horse-shoe, from the ground, it is a spiritual act. We must regard Him who speaks, not that which is said. God speaks, and miserable man must listen. God commands, the world has to obey, and we all ought to kiss the Word, and not take upon ourselves to look for arguments.

Ecolampad: But of what use is the partaking by the mouth when we have that by the Spirit?

Luther: I do not concern myself as to what we require, I look only at the words as they stand written: "This is my body." It is to be believed and done unconditionally. It must be done. If

* Which is given for you, Luther, with good reason, always let drop.

God were to command me to eat dung, I should do it, knowing well that it would be wholesome for me.

Zwingli now took part in the dialogue. He began by administering a sharp rebuke to Luther for his declaration at the very outset of the debate, that he was resolved not to depart from the opinion he had formed; for, in this manner, all farther instruction out of the Scriptures was rendered impossible. Scripture must always be interpreted by Scripture. Were we to adhere to the letter of the text we must conclude that Christ had full brothers. The sentences of Holy Scripture are not dark or enigmatical, like the oracular responses of the demons, but they are clear and plain, if we only compare the one with the other. He then went into a more minute exposition of the section in John vi, and drew from it the conclusion: "If the Lord here expressly testifies that His flesh profiteth nothing in the corporeal partaking of it, He certainly would neither have enjoined upon His disciples, nor upon us, in the Supper, the doing of a profitless thing, that is, the corporeal eating of His body. To this He says: 'When ye shall see the Son of man ascend to where he was before,' from which they might conclude that they are not to eat really, or corporeally, of His flesh."

Luther: In the gospel, "brother" signifies a cousin, or a relation. The words of institution cannot be so explained. Christ says, "This is my body," and it must be so. When Christ says, "the flesh profiteth nothing," He is not speaking of His own but of our flesh.

Zwingli: The soul is nourished by the Spirit, not by the flesh.

Luther: The body is eaten by the mouth, the soul does not partake of it corporeally.

Zwingli: It is then a food of the body and not of the soul.

Luther: I have said, and say it again, the body is not corporeally eaten into our body, and will reserve it, whether the soul also eats it.

Zwingli: You say this, however, without being able to prove it by Scripture. Besides, you first denied that the soul eats the body, and now you will have it reserved.

Luther: Your whole object is to catch me in my words.

Zwingli: No; but you speak of things that contradict each other, and it is necessary to point out the truth.

Luther: I abide by the words of Christ, "This is my body." They are the words of God. If the Lord were to set before me wooden apples, and command me to eat them, I should eat them, knowing they would be wholesome for me, and I dare not ask; why?

Zwingli now proved, by various passages of Scripture, that the sign is often put for the thing signified, and that the words of the Sacrament especially are to be so explained. He censured Luther for employing so silly an example as that of the wooden apples. Such illustrations were not in place. We know that God neither commands us to eat wooden apples nor dung as His body. The Word of God reveals to us His holy will; it is light, not darkness. God sets before us nothing incomprehensible, if we will but only rightly understand His Word. Hence, if one passage is not clear to us, we must compare it with others, and, in this manner, investigate into the sense. Thus the Virgin Mary asked, Luke i. 34, "How shall this be?" and the angel answered her question. In the same manner the disciples asked, John vi. 52, "How can this man give us His flesh to eat?" Why should not we also endeavour to discover, from Scripture, how the words of the Holy Supper are to be understood? They have, however, been interpreted by Christ himself, who shewed in what manner His flesh was to be eaten, and His blood drunk.

Luther: We are not to examine whether *is* may be taken for *signifies*, for so we fall into *interpretising*; but we are to take the words in their simple sense, "This is my body." From thence, pointing at the words written before him, the devil himself cannot pull me. When I enter into subtle inquiries about their meaning, I lose my faith and become a fool. Wherefore, give glory to God, and take and believe the simple plain letters as they stand.

Zwingli: I exhort you likewise to give God the glory, by departing from the false interpretation you have put upon the words of Scripture, by an assumption of the very thing to be proven, *petitio principii*. Where is your major proposition, (that the words bear this sense,) proved? We shall not so readily let the passage in the sixth chapter of John slip out of our hands, as it throws a steady light upon the point in dispute, and shows us distinctly how in truth and verity we are to eat Christ's flesh

and drink His blood. Come, doctor, you must sing us another song than this, for this won't do.

Luther : You are becoming personal.

Zwingli : I ask you, Doctor, if Christ did not mean here to correct the misunderstanding of the Jews, who fancied they were to eat His real flesh and drink His real blood ?

Luther : Mr Zwingli, you mean to take me by surprise ; the passage has nothing to do here.

Zwingli : Certainly the passage has to do here, and breaks your neck, Doctor.

Luther : Not so boastful, remember you are not in Switzerland now, but in Hesse, where necks are not so easily broken.

Zwingli : In Switzerland there is law and justice, as well as elsewhere, and no man's neck is broken there for naught. I have only made use of a common phrase, when I employed this expression to the effect that your case was gone, that you could do nothing but submit, seeing that the words of Christ in the sixth chapter of John totally overthrow your doctrine.

The Landgrave here interfered, saying to Luther, " I hope my learned friend the Doctor will not take ill what has been said." If Luther had but reflected on his usual threat, " we shall bring the villain to the gallows," he would have perceived that he had no great reason to complain of Zwingli's expression.

It being now exactly noon, the Conference adjourned till after dinner. In the afternoon, Zwingli read the following extract from Luther's Sermon on the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John, " Christ himself says the flesh profiteth nothing, and again, my flesh gives life, how do we reconcile this? The Spirit reconciles it. Christ means that the corporeal eating of His flesh profits nothing, nothing profits *but the faith* that He has given His flesh for me, and shed his blood for me. If I believe that Christ is the true Son of God, that He hath descended from heaven, shed His blood for me, saved me, made me righteous and alive from the dead, I have enough." Melancthon had explained this passage in a similar way.

Luther : I make no inquiry how Melancthon and myself formerly explained this passage. Prove to me that when Christ says " This is my body," it is not his body. I take my stand and abide, and not without grounds, by the words " this is my

body," but yet I do not the less acknowledge that Christ's body is in heaven, and also in the Sacrament. I am not concerned as to its being against reason and against nature, if it be not against faith.

Zwingli: This statement, however, undoubtedly contravenes the articles of faith, "He hath ascended to heaven," &c. &c. If Christ's body be in heaven, how can it at the same time be in the bread? God's Word teaches us that Christ was in all points made like unto His brethren, Heb. ii. 17. His body then cannot at the same time be in different places, because this is contrary to the nature of a real body.

Luther: If He hath been in all respects like to us, then He has had a wife and black eyes. I have said it before, and say it again: I will have nothing to do with the Mathematica!

Zwingli: I am not speaking of the Mathematica, but of the Word of God. He then, in order to show that Christ, although of Divine nature, had taken upon Him the form of a servant, and been made like to us, cited in the Greek text the passage from Philip. ii. 7.

Luther: Let Greek alone, quote it in Latin or in German.

Zwingli: Excuse me; during the last twelve years, I have only made use of the Greek New Testament. If Christ then has been made like to us, this is to be understood of His human nature. Accordingly, His body, like every other human body, is finite.

Luther: I admit that Christ's body is finite.

Zwingli: If it is finite, it is also limited,* and can only be at one and the same time in one place, that is in heaven, and not in the bread. But now you teach that the body of Christ is everywhere present.

Luther: You always seek to entrap me. If I speak of the body of Christ, I will not have it that one speak or think of a place; *I will not have it at all.*

Zwingli: What sort of language is this? Are we only to have what you will, Doctor?

* Luther could never comprehend that the two ideas, finite (*finitum*) and limited (*circumscriptum*) were synonymous, and he would never admit that what is finite is necessarily limited. He hence involved himself in a confusion of ideas from which he could only save himself by his boldly setting all consequences at defiance.

Luther : The schoolmen have also maintained that a finite body can be in several places at once. The universe is a body, and yet it cannot be said that it is in any definite place.

Zwingli : It ill becomes you, Doctor, to have recourse to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt, to the Sophists ; I, for my part, pay no regard to the Sophists. If you say that the universe is nowhere, I beg all intelligent men to test the truth of this assertion ; you were, however, to make good that the body of Christ was at one and the same time in more than one place.

Luther : Christ says, "this is my body." Now the Sacrament is dispensed in many places at once, in which one partakes not only of bread, but of the true body of Christ, hence Christ's body is in many places at once.

Zwingli : This does not follow from the words of Christ, the sense of which we are here investigating. You ever assume that your understanding of these words, which we declare to be an erroneous and false one, is the right and infallible one, and proceeding from this false assumption, you avail yourself of the sophism of reasoning in a circle. Instead of which, your proper business is to prove and establish your understanding of these words to be the true and right one. That the body of Christ, however, is limited or circumscribed like our own, and consequently, can only be at one time in one place, is a doctrine taught us by the Fathers. Thus Fulgentius* says: "The Son of God has taken upon himself the quality of real humanity, and yet not less that of real divinity. Born of His mother in time He is yet from all eternity, in virtue of the Godhead which He has from the Father. Born of man, He is man, and bound to a definite place ; as He emanates from the Father, He is God, and consequently omnipresent. In His human nature, He was when on earth absent from heaven, and He left the earth when He ascended to heaven : in His divine nature, He abode in heaven when He descended, nor did He leave the earth when He ascended." You, however, dear Doctor, have written ere now, " Every thing is full of the body of Christ," and " if Christ had not suffered in His divine nature, He were not my Redeemer."

* Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe (died 533), made himself chiefly known by his defence of the Augustinian doctrine of predestination and election.

Luther: Fulgentius is not here speaking of the Supper. Moreover he calls the Supper a sacrifice too, and yet it is none.

Zwingli: Fulgentius is here speaking of the qualities of Christ's humanity, and maintains that it necessarily follows that as man He can only be corporeally present in one place. If that is true in respect of Christ's humanity in general, it is likewise true of His presence in the Supper. When Fulgentius, however, terms the Supper a sacrifice, he does it in the same sense as Augustine, who calls it a sacrifice as he himself explains his meaning, because it is a commemoration of the once offered sacrifice of Christ.

Luther, after a few struggles, was obliged to admit this, but fell immediately into his old habit of reasoning in the circle, and drew the conclusion that Christ's body may be in many places at once, because He says, "this is my body," consequently He is now *there* in the bread.

Zwingli quickly rejoining: Is He *there in the bread*? then *there* is surely in one place. Methinks, Doctor, I have you.

Luther: As God will, let Him be in one place or not, I leave that with God; to me it is enough, and I abide by it, that He says, "This is my body."

Zwingli: It is evident to every one that you argue from a false assumption, that you describe a reasoning in a circle, and that you thus, intrenched in your own opinion, obstinately close your eyes against all instruction from the Word of God. This is but a miserable spite on your part, Doctor. In like manner might some wilful disputant misinterpret the words of our Lord to his mother, "Woman, behold thy son," persist in repeating them, and, despite all remonstrances, never cease crying, No, no, you must take the words of Christ as they stand, and hold simply by them, "Woman, behold thy son." Would he achieve aught else here, but a miserable perversion of the words of Christ? It is just what you are doing, Doctor. The holy Augustine writes: "We dare not believe that Christ in human form is everywhere present, we dare not, to establish His divinity, abstract the *reality* from His body. Christ as God is omnipresent, yet by reason of His true body He is in one place, in heaven."

Luther : Augustine is not here speaking of the Sacrament. The body of Christ in the Supper is not as in one place.

Zwingli declining to reason any farther with an opponent who withdrew himself from every species of close and consecutive argument, and who overleapt with such wonderful audacity the manifold contradictions into which he plunged, *Æcolampad* now took it upon him to answer *Luther*. In reply to *Luther's* last assertion, which had been already thoroughly disproved by Zwingli, and which was in direct contradiction to his own former admissions, *Æcolampad* observed : " If the body of Christ is not *locally* in the Supper, then it is not there as a *real* body, for, as is well known, it belongs to the essence of a body to be in one definite place. Let us examine, in all friendship, what kind of presence this is of the body of Christ."

Luther : You will not bring me a single step farther. If you have *Fulgentius* and *Augustine* on your side, we have the rest of the Fathers.

Æcolampad : Please name these Fathers, and quote the passages you refer to. We trust we shall be able to prove to you that they are of our opinion.

Luther : We decline naming them. *Augustine* wrote the passage you have quoted in his youth, it is moreover very unintelligible. Besides, I do not concern myself as to what the Fathers teach on this head, but I abide by the words of Christ. (Here he pointed again to the words written in chalk upon the table, " This is my body.") See, so they run. You have not driven us out of this stronghold, as you proudly imagined you would do, and we concern ourselves no farther about proofs.

Æcolampad : If it be thus, the Conference had better be closed. We have appealed to the Fathers of the Church for the purpose of shewing that we have advanced no new doctrine. We do not build upon them, but upon the Word of God. Every one knows who *Augustine* was, and that when he expressed his sentiments, he not only delivered his own opinions, but those of the whole Church of his day.

Thus the Conference concluded. The Chancellor, *Feige*, who for his part adhered to the Zwinglian doctrine, was dismayed at the upshot. But, even yet, he exhorted both parties earnestly to cultivate peace, as he had done at the beginning, and entreated

them to think of measures which might promote unity. Luther observed, "I know of no other measures but that they give glory to the Word of God, and believe what we believe." The Swiss replied: "We cannot do so, for our conscience forbids it. We believe that Christ's body and blood are present in the Supper to the believing soul, but not in the bread and wine." Luther: "We have then done with you, and commend you to the just judgment of God: He will discover who is right." Then Ecolampad said: "We do the same, and have done with you." Zwingli, however, was so deeply moved by Luther's obduracy of temper, that he was unable to articulate a single word; *his eyes, as every one saw, were swimming in tears.*

Although there were no Papists at the Conference, as Luther and Melanchthon desired, to decide which party gained the victory, there were yet those present who were quite competent to pass a correct and impartial judgment upon it, and they have done it. The Landgrave of Hessen, who bestowed the greatest attention to the Disputation throughout, declared, on his dying bed, that he had been won over to Zwingli's views by the arguments the latter had advanced on this occasion. Thus, on the Tuesday following Paul's conversion, 1531, he wrote to Zwingli in these terms: "You must not doubt me that I shall, by God's grace, continue steadfast in the truth, and neither regard Pope nor Emperor, Luther nor Melanchthon, and I hope, in course of time, to bring the other abuses to an amelioration." Professor Franciscus Lambert makes a similar confession in regard to himself. He had left Zurich, where he had been brought by Zwingli to a deeper acquaintance with evangelical truth, had gone to Wittenberg, married there, and lived on terms of the closest friendship with Luther. From Wittenberg he came to Strasburg, and from thence to Marburg, where he was appointed professor in the newly-founded High School. United to both the Reformers by the ties of friendship and of gratitude, he had not quite resolved, although more inclined to Luther's doctrine, which view to adopt. At the commencement of the Conference, he set before himself to be, as he said, like *a sheet of white paper*, on which he prayed that the finger of God might write the truth; and, when it was concluded, he acknowledged that the finger of

God had written on his heart the doctrine which Zwingli had developed from the Word of God." Even Seckendorf, a warm defender of Luther and his doctrine, confesses, "Luther behaved at this Conference in a rude and arrogant manner, and did nothing else but call upon the Swiss to subject themselves to his opinion."

Such was the judgment passed on the conduct of both parties, by men who stood in a position disconnected from both. There being little hope of arriving at a more favourable result by a continuance of the Conference, the Landgrave came to the resolution of dissolving it. The sudden breaking out of a pestilential disease, known by the name of "The English Sweat," from whose ravages each was desirous of escaping, perhaps hastened this decision. Philip, however, was unwilling that the Reformers should separate without publishing some testimony of their agreement in the principal truths of the gospel. Zwingli, too, expressed himself thus: "Let us acknowledge in what we agree, and, in regard to the points on which we differ, let us not forget that we are brethren. Peace will never prevail in the Church, unless, without compromising the great doctrine of salvation by faith, difference of opinion be permitted to exist in things of subordinate moment." The Landgrave expressed his full accordance with this sentiment, and requested they should publish, for a testimony to friend and foe, the doctrines which they in common believe and confess, in a particular document. Upon its being resolved to accede to this request, Luther was chosen to draw up the document, a task, in his present temper of mind, of no easy execution; "I will put the articles together in the best way I can; they will still not approve them," said he moodily. He was deceived; the articles drawn up by him were, one and all, accepted by the Swiss, upon a few alterations being made in expression. We give these articles as follows, in the shape in which they were approved of by both parties, and we subjoin, in the notes below, the short observations which have been preserved to us from Zwingli's pen.

1. We believe and acknowledge, on both sides, with one heart and soul, that there is only one true and natural God; the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and all creatures; and that this God is one in essence and nature, three in persons, namely,

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, entirely as established at the Council of Nice, and as it has been read and sung through the whole Christian Church in the Nicene Creed.

2. We believe that neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son of the Father, who was true and essential God, became man, and by the working of the Holy Ghost, without the co-operation of a man, was conceived and born of Mary, a pure virgin, according to the flesh, entirely in body and soul like other men, yet without sin.

3. That this God and son of Mary, in person inseparable,* Jesus Christ, was crucified for us, was dead and buried, arose again from the dead, and ascended to heaven, where He sits at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

4. We believe that original sin, derived from Adam, descending to us by generation, is a sin sufficient to condemn all men, and that if Christ had not come to our aid by His life and by His death, we must have eternally died on account of it, so that we could never have entered the kingdom of God, nor obtained salvation.

5. We believe that through faith on Jesus Christ that hath died for us, we are redeemed and freed from original sin, and every other sin; without this faith, we cannot be set free from any sin, by any external work, observance, or ordinance whatever.†

6. That this faith is a gift of God, which we acquire by no inborn, nor by any outward merit or work, nor through our own power, but the Holy Ghost vouchsafes it, and works it in our hearts, how and where He wills, when we hear the gospel, or the Word of God.‡

7. That such faith is our justification before God, on account of which God regards us as just, righteous, and holy, without any works or merits of our own; and by this faith frees us from sin,

* If He were not inseparable in person He could not be the Saviour of all. For His ability to save is derived principally from His divine nature, although it is only in His human nature that He hath suffered.

† It is hence faith, the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ, and not the reception of the sacrament, which alone brings justification to us.

‡ This article is very important; according to it, pardon of sin is not extended to us by the presentation of the Sacrament.

death, and hell, graciously accepts us and saves us for His Son's sake, on whom we believe, being by faith made partakers of the benefits of justification and sanctification through Christ. Hence all ordinances and vows deemed necessary to salvation are damnable.

8. That the Holy Ghost, to speak scripturally,* vouchsafes this faith or His gifts to none without the previous preaching of the Word or gospel of Jesus Christ,† but He works‡ and operates faith, on whom, and as He will, by and with the preached Word, Rom. x.

9. That baptism is a sacrament, appointed by God, for the awakening of such faith, or to serve as a sign of it. And since God's command: "Go ye and baptise," and God's promise: "He that believeth and is baptised," &c., are comprehended in it, it is not a mere sign or badge among Christians, but a sign and work of God,§ in which our faith|| is demanded, and by which we are born again.

10. That such faith by the working of the Holy Ghost, after we have arrived at justification and sanctification, produces good works in us, love to our neighbour, devotion to God, patience under the cross.

11. That confession or counsel-seeking¶ from a pastor or a neighbour is not commanded, and shall not be compulsory but free, may, however, be useful for anxious, tempted and disquieted consciences, principally by reason of absolution or evangelical comfort, which is the true absolution.

* For it is also written, "Go and preach," &c., &c.; and, "Faith cometh by hearing," &c., else the preacher's office were abolished.

† By the gospel we understand generally the outward proclamation of the Word.

‡ He the Spirit, and not the outward Word, gives faith; hence His part in the work is stated with peculiar prominence.

§ Baptism is here called a work of God that none may despise or condemn it.

|| Faith is demanded either from him who receives the baptism, or from him who brings a child to receive baptism, to wit, from the father or the mother, faith to the effect that the individual to be baptised believes the promise, and desires to be admitted into the communion of the Church, or that he will be instructed in the faith when he comes to years of discretion.

¶ Our opponents call confession that which we call seeking of counsel. For this reason, both expressions are here used. They also employ "absolution," to designate what we express by evangelical comfort.

12. That the magistracy, civil laws, tribunals, and ordinances, where they exist, are wholesome, are commanded by God, and by no means forbidden, as some Papists and Anabaptists teach; but that a Christian chosen or born to a civil office, can be saved just as a father or a mother, a husband or a wife.

13. That we may either hold or give up the so-called traditions and ecclesiastical ordinances appointed by man, when they do not conflict with the revealed Word of God, according as the sentiments of the people may be, by whom we are surrounded; and in this, our duty is to avoid giving offence, and to endeavour to farther peace.

14. That infant baptism is right and necessary, since children are thereby received into God's grace,* and into the bosom of the Church.

15. We believe and hold, all of us, in regard to the Holy Supper of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that it ought to be dispensed in both kinds, according to the institution of our dear Lord Jesus Christ. That the Mass is no work by which one can acquire or obtain for another, be he dead or alive, mercy and the forgiveness of sins. That the sacrament of the altar† is a sacrament‡ of the true body and blood of Christ, and that the spiritual partaking of this body and blood is a matter of especial need to every Christian. In the same manner we agree in regard to the use of the sacrament, that the sacrament, as well as the word delivered§ and ordained to us of God, moves weak consciences, through the Holy Ghost, to faith and love.|| And although we cannot come to a union of opinion as to whether the real body and the real blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, yet each party ought to manifest Christian love towards

* That is, they who have been made partakers of grace, are impressed with the sign of faith.

† They call it the Sacrament of the Altar; we the Holy Supper.

‡ A sacrament, i.e., a sign of the true body and blood of Christ. Accordingly it is not the true body of Christ himself.

§ That is, as Christ hath instituted it in His own words. Hence we should beware of changing the words, or thinking lightly of them.

|| The meaning of this passage is the following: We ought so to keep the sacrament as Christ has instituted it. But Christ has instituted it in commemoration of himself, i.e., that we may shew forth His death, thank, praise, and extol Him, that He has been crucified, and has died for us. This shewing forth avails to our comfort and confirmation in the faith.

the other, in so far as conscience permits it, and both ought earnestly to supplicate the Almighty God, that He would confirm by His Spirit the true understanding of His Word in us. Amen.

This important document, by which a union or agreement in the principal doctrines of Christianity was declared between the two sister churches, was signed by both parties. An important step was here made to a reconciliation, and if, in the spirit of love, they had gone on with the erection of the edifice on this basis, we should long ago have arrived at a true union of heart. But unhappily the good spirit which animated Luther in the composition of these articles, soon appeared ready to abandon him. The Landgrave earnestly besought both parties to be united, and to regard one another as brothers. Zwingli, magnanimous and noble as he always was, came forward to Luther, with tears in his eyes, saying: "There are none in the world with whom I should more desire to be at peace than the Wittenbergians." But the hand stretched forward in largeness of heart was pushed back by Luther, with the hard words: "Ye have another spirit. I am surprised that you regard me as a brother, whose doctrine you recently stigmatised as false. You surely cannot hold much of your own doctrine." This narrow-minded obstinacy of spirit gave deep offence, not only to the Swiss and the men of Strasburg, but also to the Landgrave. "Choose between the two," said Bucer, "either you recognise none as brother who differs from you in opinion in but *a single* point, and then you have not one brother on earth, no, not even in your own party, or you accept individuals who differ from you, in which case you must accept us." Upon the Landgrave's exhorting both to shew brotherly love to one another, Luther said: "I shall testify to my opponents the love that a man bears to his enemy." At length both parties yielded so far to the repeated entreaties of the Landgrave, as to promise that for the future they would no longer irritate or give offence to each other by violent writings, words, or invectives.*

* What Zwingli did out of a spirit of pure Christian love, out of a feeling of the duty of a united combination, even under existing differences, out of the feeling of hope that reconciliation might yet be effected, was interpreted (by Luther and his worshippers) as if he had done it from necessity, and a feeling of weakness—as if he had been under the necessity of begging for the great honour of

If we regard the disposition of mind in which the two parties left Marburg, we shall find it thoroughly correspondent to that in which they came, and the spirit which they manifested in the Conference. Zwingli could write with a good conscience: "We have the consciousness of having acted with a pure mind towards God. Posterity will acknowledge it. Truth has so manifestly gained the victory that, if the shameless and obstinate Luther be not beaten, there never was any one beaten; of course, only in the judgment of an impartial and intelligent judge, for Luther never ceases boasting he was not beaten. The Hessian nobles and clergy have nearly all deserted him. The prince himself has issued the command that our books may be freely read, and that no clergyman adhering to our opinion dare be farther persecuted or deposed from his office. The Conference has also borne *this good fruit*, that the Papists need no longer hope that Luther will return to them, as we are agreed in the other doctrines of Christianity, according to a declaration made to this effect." He felt deeply hurt, indeed, at Luther's obstinate exclusiveness and prejudice, and feared that Lutherdom might, in the end, prove as great an incubus to Christianity as the popedom; yet he was animated by the joyful hope that truth in the end would triumph. The warm friendship which the noble-minded Landgrave testified towards him, richly recompensed him for the repulse he had met with from his opponent. It is a fine spectacle, many of which the great time of the Reformation presents to us, to see the most magnanimous prince of his age, who loved to manifest on occasions princely splendour, walking in close friendship with the son of the Toggenburg herdsman in the community of a noble cause. Elevated and strengthened by this lofty feeling, Zwingli returned to Zurich, full of good resolves. (See below, Section ix. 1.) Very different was the mood of mind of Luther and his friends in Marburg, and upon the home-journey. The leaning of the Land-

Luther's friendship, and had not obtained it. Did there not much rather lie in it (Zwingli's deportment) the noble and the upright recognition of the greatness and merits of his opponent? Did there not lie in it the open testimony that his conscience, and his conscience alone, prevented him from purchasing, at the price of a denied conviction, the union which he so ardently desired? Did there not lie over against the proud Luther an act of humility and self-denial on the part of the free Swiss, who in no respect stood in need of Luther's favour?—EBERARD. "The Dogma of the Holy Supper," Part ii, page 341.

grave, of his courtiers and divines to Zwingli's doctrine, had not escaped them, and a feeling of uneasiness came over them, when they trod the apartments of the prince's palace. "Take care," said Luther to his friends, "that we do not sneeze too hard, else blood will flow." Justus Jonas writes to Zwingli, envious at the Landgrave's friendship towards him, "When you have done reforming the boor's caps, you will fall, tooth and nail, on the prince's ermine-hat." Luther thus gives expression to his thoughts in writing, on his departure from Marburg: "I crawled," says he, "like a worm in the dust, and so tormented was I by the devil, that I thought never more to have seen nor wife nor child; I, the comforter of distressed souls, was without comfort." In Marburg he had denied *love*, his conscience gave evidence against him that he had done so, and peace abandoned his soul. Nevertheless he boasted of having gained the victory over his antagonists in all the articles, and called them "awkward in disputation, and inexperienced in it." In this, however, he only justified what Zwingli said of him, "Luther acts like unskilful swordsmen, who, when they are disarmed, say their opponent knows not the art."

The Marburg Disputation, despite the partial failure which attended it, was of signal importance to the Reformed Church. In the first place, the attention of the followers of both the Reformers was turned, by the Marburg articles, to the common ground of faith on which their doctrine stood, a gain which is not to be deemed small. That which Zwingli was always maintaining, in this respect, Luther now confessed by the composition of this remarkable document. Then, in consequence of the reciprocal promise not to continue the strife, a calm set in after the feverish excitement, which was extremely grateful to all. And this calm was of the utmost consequence to the Reformed Church, for it was threatened by a heavy tempest from another quarter. The Emperor Charles V. crossed the Alps from Italy, in the spring of 1530, for the purpose of holding the Augsburg Diet, so celebrated even in the history of the Reformation itself. The Evangelicals were, upon good grounds, anxious for the safety of their Church, being well aware that Charles had given his promise to the papal ambassador at Barcelona, to employ all the means in his power for the extirpation of heresy in Germany, (see Section vi.) After having lived with

the Pope five months long, during the winter 1529-30, in Bologna, and taken counsel with him, he arrived in Augsburg, accompanied by Faber and Eck, and with his feelings, excited by his Dominican Confessor Garzia de Loaysa, who expressed the sentiments that animated him thus: "The true rhubarb for heresy is force." Next to the gracious providence of God, the reformed Church owes it to the firmness and courage of the reformed princes and deputies, but, above all, to the address and prudence of the Landgrave of Hessen, that the blood-thirsty plans of Eck, Faber, and the Spanish monk were not carried into execution. This Diet was also attended by Reformed divines; on the side of the Lutherans, by John Brenz and Melanchthon, the latter of whom presented to the Emperor the Augsburg Confession, as composed by him; on the Zwinglian side, by Bucer and Capito, (at first they did not appear ostensibly,) who handed to the Emperor, (probably through James Sturm,) a creed drawn up by them in the name of the four Imperial towns of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, the so-called Four-Towns-Confession (Tetrapolitona.) The two head Reformers remained at a distance from the Diet, Luther at Coburg, where he composed the heroic hymn beginning, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott," Zwingli at Zurich, where he drew up, in the course of a few days, his own clear and well-founded Confession of faith, which he sent off by a special messenger to Augsburg.* As the Papists employed the difference of doctrine between the two parties with wily cunning, to divide them, if possible, the Lutherans enjoyed a much higher respect from this quarter than the Zwinglians, who, it was thought, could not be treated with sufficient contempt. Nay, not only was the proposal made to bring about a reconciliation between the Papists and the Lutherans, but steps were taken towards effecting it, a commission being appointed to draw up the conditions under which it should take place. Eck and Melanchthon found themselves appointed members of it, and appear to have got on very smoothly together.

* Bucer and Capito wrote on the 23d June 1530 to Zwingli, that two passages in this confession gave great offence at the Diet; the Papists were offended at the passage at the end of Chap. X., where Zwingli compares the higher orders of the Romish clergy to wens and humps; the Lutherans at that, which speaks of those who look back to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt, an allusion they applied to themselves.

In these circumstances, the Zwinglians, or to use the German designation, the Reformed party, had much to bear, both from Papists and Lutherans. Bucer and Capito complained bitterly in a letter to Zwingli: "You can imagine nothing less conciliating, nothing ruder and more grating to the feelings than the behaviour of the Lutherans towards us. The Landgrave of Hessen alone, who is verily an instrument in the hand of God, for the promotion of His own glory, confesses his faith with courage and firmness, and has already openly maintained it before the Emperor, and to every one else." Of Melanchthon's behaviour, the Landgrave himself writes to Zwingli: "But what shall I say of Philip Melanchthon, who goes backwards like a crab, and has been with his timidity a hurtful man to the gospel of Christ; for he is fallen into an error, and cannot get out of it, and many hang upon him; but he shall not, if God will, deceive me." But the attempts at reconciliation between Papists and Lutherans were soon abandoned, and Melanchthon himself saw that he had been practised upon. Bucer and Capito availed themselves of this circumstance, (without doubt under the influence of the Landgrave and James Sturm, the Town-Sheriff,) to make farther attempts at reconciliation between the Reformed and Lutherans. In their Confession of Faith they had, without denying in their sense Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper, accommodated their expressions so far to the Lutheran doctrine, as to adopt the following formula: "Christ gives in the Supper His true body and true blood, to be truly eaten and drunk, as a food of the soul." The Lutherans at Augsburg having become more accessible to the Reformed after the deception put upon them by the Papists, and Melanchthon having meanwhile instructed himself better upon the reformed doctrine, and shewn himself more disposed to it, Bucer and Capito repaired to him, and to John Brenz, to make fresh attempts to procure a mutual reconciliation, which attempts were made by Bucer with unwearied zeal. Bucer's object was a thoroughly Christian and noble one. He himself was more a clear and practised speaker than a deep thinker, much more considerable as a practical clergyman than as a man of learning. But it was these very qualities which enabled him at a glance to understand and appreciate the manner in which simple evangelical Christians, who were puzzled by the exact distinctions

of the theologians, took up and judged of the matter in dispute. "Many persons," he writes to Zwingli, "cannot bring themselves to regard the words of institution as a figure of speech; they hold firm to this, that Christ is present in the Sacrament, and will not farther examine whether He be in the bread or the wine, in the transaction or the heart. Were you to induce these people to take the words of institution figuratively, and to hold only the *spiritual* presence, they would be led astray upon the gospel itself, and speedily fall away from it. We should here follow the example of a skilful and wise physician, who, when he finds the patient having an antipathy against pills, prescribes his medicine in a mixture. We also should invest the truth in a phraseology to attract the great multitude of Christians." Starting from this point of view, he designed, after the example of the Four-towns-Confession, a doctrinal formula, in which each party might find their own views, and which each might interpret for itself. Melancthon and Brenz appear to have approved of Bucer's idea. He accordingly set out for Coburg in order to induce Luther to agree to it, while Capito set off for Zurich to gain Zwingli for it. Luther might well bring himself to approve of the formula, containing, as it does, that "Christ's true body and true blood is given in the Supper to be truly eaten and drunken as a food of the soul." A doubt, however, on the one hand, that the Swiss would hardly subscribe it, and, on the other hand, the feeling that such a settlement of the dispute was more factitious than real, determined him to reject Bucer's proposal. He thus expresses himself in a letter to the Duke Ernest of Luenenburg: "At your Grace's request, I have long ere this given Bucer an answer in the negative, but in the friendliest and gentlest manner possible. For it is not possible to arrange upon the ground of his plan; nor were it good to do so. But as to what Bucer pretends, that the dispute is one of words, I am willing to give my life for it, it is not this, were it indeed so, such a split would be soon closed up, and ought never to have been made. I am, too, disposed to union, as I told him, in many words, at Coburg. My opinion is, that, for the present, enough has been done till God gives further grace, and that we ought, on both sides, to desist from farther writing against each other upon the subject, having sufficiently admonished each other, and sufficiently

learned each other's opinion. *We shall pray, and hope till all be well.* Your Highness may rest assured that, next to Christ, nothing lies nearer my heart than that these people were fundamentally one with us. No death is so bitter that I should not willingly suffer it to attain this object." What a different language of conciliation is here from that which marks his polemical writings! You feel, in nearly every word, that "*another spirit*" breathes in him from that which moved him to thrust away the hand of Zwingli, offered to him in conciliation. Zwingli, like Luther, but in a more decided manner, rejected Bucer's artificial attempt at a settlement, for nothing was more opposed to his straight-forward soul than equivocation. He admitted, indeed, that he could find his view expressed in the formula proposed by Bucer, if the words were only rightly understood and interpreted.* "We do not in any manner reject or blame," he writes on this subject to the Council of Basle, "the confession which our much loved friends and Christian fellow-citizens of Strasburg have presented to the Diet at Strasburg; on the contrary, we esteem and hold the same to be Christianity right and

* The words certainly were always understood and explained by Luther and Zwingli differently, according to their different modes of contemplating things, especially the word *true* and *truly*. For Luther, from his point of view of scholastic realism, the sensibly perceptible, and at the same time tangible, was alone the *true*, while Zwingli, with John, (as also with Plato,) regarded the super-sensual and eternal, which withdraws itself from the perception of our senses, but which again is contemplated by the believing soul, by the pure heart, as the *true* and *truly*. The "*true*" bread is neither barley-bread nor wheaten-bread, but the "*eternal*" Word of God, which became flesh in Christ, and which eternally nourishes and strengthens our soul. The "*true*" light is not that which affects our corporeal eye, but our soul. Thus for Zwingli the "*true*" body of Christ, of which the believing soul becomes partaker in the Supper, is not the sensible body of Christ, but His whole divine and human appearance and redeeming work, which He accomplished by divesting himself of His heavenly glory, and offering himself up in sacrifice for us. This, however, is not present to the senses, which can just as little seize hold of and grasp it as they can perceive God. The believing soul alone, the pure in heart alone, see God. It is only the believing soul, too, which is able to recognise Christ as the God-man, and to appropriate to itself His redemption-work. To her Christ and His redemption are always present. From the standing-point of the higher intellectual contemplation, there is neither past nor future, but one eternal present. This spiritual, believing contemplation (*contemplatio fidei*) is elevated, enhanced, and confirmed by the partaking of the Holy Supper. It is, however, always as different from the idea which we bear in our souls of sensible things, as God is different from the world.

good. But that we are to resign a clear and fundamental understanding of the words, 'this is my body,' &c., as we have formerly received, taught, and preached it, for a dark equivocal formula, you can by no means desire from us, as we should thereby give ourselves the appearance as if we had been formerly in error, and had maintained what was untrue. We may therefore leave the confession of our Christian fellow-citizens uncensured, since it in no respect affects us. But if a confession be desired from us, we shall express our opinions and views in clear intelligible language. When you report to us that you cannot so understand the words of the Strasburg Confession, that 'Christ gives us in the Supper His true body and His true blood to eat and drink as a food for the soul,' as if thereby Popery or Lutheranism were about to be set up again, we, for our part, cannot look upon it in any other light, than that in the words, '*gives to eat*,' the presentation is understood, and thus salvation is made dependent on the priest who presents, if not now, yet eventually. We, however, do not live for the present time and for ourselves alone, but for the future, and for men in another age, and if we were not now to maintain the truth, even to death, what confusion should we be heaping up in store for coming generations?"

Thus this too artificial attempt at union was met by Luther and Zwingli with a formal declinature. Both, however, earnestly longed for peace for themselves and for the Church they had reformed. Both recognised with their whole heart and soul, that He alone can give peace and true union who turns the hearts of men like the streams of water. To Him Zwingli had applied at the very beginning of the unhallowed strife,* in the noble prayer which we shall here insert: "Fill us, O Creator, God, and Father of all, with Thy gracious Spirit, and drive from the minds of both sides all the clouds of misunderstanding and passion, as Thou didst of old force the raging waves of the deluge into the deep by Thy powerful winds, and causedst fruits and plants to the full to spring up and to ripen again on the surface of the all-nourishing earth. Put an end, O God, to the struggle, to the quarrel, and to the blind passion. Arise, O Christ, Thou glorious Sun of righteousness, and shine on us with Thy mild rays. Alas! while we strive, we forget but too often to wrestle after holiness, which Thou

* In the introduction to his "Friendly Exegesis," ("Amica Exegesis.")

requirest from us all. For Thou knowest, O Lord, that we never come out of these worldly contests bettered, since they are works of the flesh, that sully every one that mingles in them, while the righteous ever decline them to their own salvation. Preserve us, therefore, O Lord, from such strife, that we may not misuse our powers in them, but turn them with all earnestness to the work of sanctification." The Lord heard the prayer of these men, whom He had chosen to a great work. Zwingli could, a few weeks before his too early death, report of the conflict as of something gone bye; he was able to deliver a glorious testimony to the power and effect of the Sacraments, and to manifest that he recognised the significance and importance of these means of grace in all their depth. To the same God of peace Luther also turned himself, and thus the true peace came ever more and more over his mighty soul, so that he could write in the letter to the Duke of Luenenburg quoted above: "If God would grant it, (namely that we be united,) I shall joyfully die and take my departure, so God will." His desire was fulfilled. Just before he set out on his journey to Eisleben, where he died (1546), he sent for Melanchthon and said to him: "I must acknowledge, that in the matter of the Supper there has been too much done;" to which Philip answered, "Doctor, let us draw up a document in which the matter may be softened." Luther replied: "Yes, dear Philip, I have thought much and often upon this, but the doctrine itself will be brought into suspicion; I commend it to God, the Almighty. But do something after my death." Melanchthon fulfilled this last wish of his venerated friend, with all the more sacred fidelity, that his own convictions likewise impelled him to it. The Spirit that leads believers ever nearer to the truth, conducted also this faithful witness to a view of the Holy Supper that was very closely related to Zwingli's. A few months before his death, (29th October 1559,) he was requested* by his prince, the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, to record his sentiments in writing upon this subject. Hesshussius,† a

* Melanchthon died April 1560. He was born at Bretten in the Palatinate, 16th February 1497.

† Tileman Hesshussius was born at Wesel in the year 1527. He was one of that class of men who, possessing Luther's passionateness, without his great intellect, pass themselves off as double-refined Lutheran. For his unmeasured

polemical clergyman, endeavouring at that time to rake up the embers of the old strife with a wild phrensy, "My heart's desire is," wrote Melancthon, "that the Church newly planted through the preaching of the Word, may everywhere enjoy peace and rest. I am therefore greatly pleased with the opinion of your Serene Highness, that all strife-loving clergymen should be dismissed from their pulpits, that divisions may not be sown in the young tender church, and the weak in faith offended. In this strife, it were best that we adhered to the words of Paul: 'The bread that we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' and that we emphatically taught the people the benefit of the Sacrament, whereby many might be induced to take a liking to this pledge, and use it often. The word 'communion' ought to be explained in the following way: Paul speaks not like the Papist, that the bread is changed, nor does he speak like those of Bremen,* that the bread is the *essential* body of Christ; nor like Hesshussius, that the bread is the *true* body of Christ; but he says that the bread is the communion of the body of Christ, through the bread one commonalty† is made with the body of Christ. The Son of God is present at the preaching of the gospel, and undoubtedly works also *in believers* through the dispensation of the Sacrament appointed by Him. He is, however, not there for the bread's sake, but for man's sake, as He says: "Abide in me and I in you;" and, "I am in the Father, and you in Me, and I in you." And with this true consolation, He makes us members of himself. So the old Fathers of the Church explain the Lord's Supper. But now some teach, (the Papists,) that the bread

advocacy of a one-sided view of the Lutheran doctrine of the Supper, and the persecuting spirit he manifested towards all who did not agree with him in it, he was divested one after the other of his professorial and clerical offices in Goslar, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Brunswick, Wesel, Jena, &c., in all which places he excited the most odious animosities. A synod of 20 ministers formally condemned at Koenigsberg, in 1577, the doctrinal opinions of this Lutheran zealot. He died in 1588.

* Under this designation we are to understand the polemical divines Timann and Westphal, who persecuted with great violence the pious minister Albrecht Hardenberg, simply because he cultivated friendly relations with John Lasky and the Swiss.

† Melancthon here refers to the comparison Augustine draws between the many grains of corn which form *one* loaf of bread, and the many grapes which go to form *one* wine, with the members of the Church who are made *one* body in Christ, through partaking of the Supper of the Lord.

and the wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ ; others, (the ultra-Lutherans,) that *with, in, under, and beside* the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are so united respectively, that the one must be emphatically and corporeally present with the other ; some, indeed, (John Brenz,) that the body and blood of Christ are everywhere present in all ends and corners of the world. Of such *monstrous* opinions, the ancient and very learned Fathers knew nothing. Nor shall I strive with these quarrelsome individuals, who pursue idolatry and murder, with their new and gross conceits of the Lord's Supper, but I shall simply advertise what, according to my poor understanding, in my opinion, ought to be undertaken for the peace and edification of the Church. I abide by my opinion, that all public disputation on the subject ought to be forbidden to both parties. I invoke the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, and gathers to himself by the preaching of the gospel an ever-during communion, that He would teach, guide, and preserve all of us, and each one in particular." In this manner Melancthon discharged Luther's last legacy of love, by exhorting and directing the church, which they had both been instruments of reforming on the basis of faith in Christ, and according to the directory of God's Word, to cultivate peace, harmony, and union. It is an ennobling spectacle, to see the champions of the fight, on the evening of their lives, when the small patchwork of human knowledge vanishes before the awful splendour of the eternal light, at length stretching out to one another the hand of peace, and recommending her to the renovated communion of the Lord as a sacred legacy. And ought we here below, now that they have gone up to the great Supper of the Lamb, and entered into it, to cling to the infirmities of their flesh, and testify our community of saintship with them, by reviving these infirmities after they had been laid aside by themselves as a worn-out, ragged, and unsightly garment? May the Lord of the Church, who knows His disciples by their manifesting love to one another, fill us with His love, that we who believe on His name, may eat of the Holy Supper of love according to His mind and according to His Spirit.

EIGHTH SECTION.

ZWINGLI IN HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

"Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord."

1. ZWINGLI'S CHARACTER; WISE EMPLOYMENT OF TIME FOR THE DISPATCH OF MULTIFARIOUS BUSINESS; HIS DOMESTIC LIFE.

HAVING considered the salutary work of the Reformation of the Church, as Zwingli in the strength of God accomplished it, as also the manifold conflicts which this true servant of the Lord had to endure in the cause of truth, we shall now turn our regards to his private life, and we shall bring before the mind of the reader some more cheerful images from this quarter, ere we contemplate his last sphere of usefulness, and the bloody event which put a close to his useful life.

If we enter his house, we shall find the Reformer simply dressed in the wide canon's coat, with the priest's hat, or "Barette," on his head, his countenance beaming with a cheerfulness disclosing the open soul and manly courage of the Christian hero, ever affable to all who had a request to make of him, sometimes bursting out into indignation, if his straightforward soul lighted on hypocrisy, obstinacy, or unreasonableness. But the clouds of anger are soon dispersed by the ray of heavenly truth penetrating them with the recollection, "We all err in many respects." As to his fare he is simple, preferring above every thing else the milk-diet, to which, in his youth, he had been accustomed in his native mountains. The society of his wife, the education of his children, conversation and intellectual intercourse with his friends, and last of all, music, in which he exercises himself with all the passion and application of an artist; these are his pleasures. Upon this man, so simple in his domestic relations, so robust in health, both of body and mind, there rests a load of labours and

business under which every one else must have succumbed, but of which, by his extraordinary talents, and a wise division of time, he ever discharges himself in a cheerful spirit. The early hours of morning he devotes specially to prayer and the study of the Scriptures, till the hour arrives which summons him into the church to preach, or to give "The Prophesying," (see p. 113,) or into the Professorial-Hall, to deliver an exegesis from the Old and New Testaments alternately. At eleven he dines. After dinner, he converses with his family, receives visits, or goes a-walking till two. The afternoon is often devoted to the study of the noble works of Grecian or Roman literature, and not till after supper does he again grant himself a short respite from labour, either in the circle of his family or of his friends. Sometimes he sups in those mediæval society-houses, or guild-rooms, as they still exist in many of the Swiss towns, in the company of his colleagues, the members of the Council, and other respectable and enlightened friends of evangelical truth. The later hours of evening, and even a part of the night itself, he employs in writing his many letters. If business is pressing, he can dispense with his night's rest, (during the Disputation at Baden, for six weeks together, see page 231,) but otherwise he could take the necessary quantum of sleep, as Bullinger faithfully informs us.* It was only by such a careful distribution and economy of his time, that with all his fine gifts of intellect, and with the advantage of an iron constitution, he was able to master the overwhelming amount of business which the Reformation laid upon him, and to accomplish his great work. It was often, indeed, a subject of lamentation to him that, owing to the pressure of business, he was unable to bestow upon the works he published the requisite elaboration and polish. This regret we learn particularly from one of his letters which he wrote to Vadian, one of the friends of his youth, upon his handing him a copy of the well-known work, "The Shepherd," when he says, "I must apologise for 'The Shepherd's' being much less filed and polished than I had wished. The unlooked-for storms

* These details are taken from accounts, thoroughly consistent with themselves, of several of his friends and acquaintances, Myconius, Bullinger, and Bernhard Weiss. Myconius says, in addition, that he always studied and worked *standing*.

with which the world of the present day is vexed, prevented me from duly elaborating and filing not only this writing, but all my earlier productions, even where the original design might have been successful. Thus all my writings are much more the creations of circumstances than regular publications, and so much has this been the case, that I never was in a position to finish a single work, before the bookseller had begun the printing of it. Hence repetitions are more frequent than they ought to be, and omissions likewise, as I frequently imagined I had inserted what I had only written to a friend. Now our attention is engrossed by friends, now by enemies; here a bookseller jogs us for the approaching book fair, there a brother begs us for advice and help, who has been ill-used by an unjust bishop. Hence in answering the one, we have forgotten to write what ought to have stood here in our book. But in all this we see the hand of divine Providence, implanting within us the desire, that all explanations and treatises whatever, but more especially our own, may pass speedily into oblivion, as soon as we shall have achieved the getting the Holy Scriptures into general use and perusal. God has so ordered it with us, that we have only written *for the occasion*. 'Of the immense number of letters which we have written, we have not been able to take a copy of a single one. We have thus been obliged immediately to publish whatever came first to the mouth, or flowed first to the pen; and it has been justly said of our letters and writings, that they have been much more *talked than written*.' At another time, he complains: "No man is more unfortunately situated than I for writing books. It is owing to the evil nature of the times. For it drags me out, who would rather keep silence and lie concealed, and compels me to write, while it obstinately refuses me leisure to do the work, and the years requisite for the employment of the file. Hence all my works ought rather to be called *sketches* than *books*. Yet I thank God for it, who teaches me by this hint to suppress the hankering after glory, and to do all with simple fidelity, that my writings may be the more effective to the advancement of the glory of God, the more they want artificial ornament and glitter, and that it may be obvious to all, that the arms I employ are not mighty through the flesh, but through the Spirit."

The heavy load of cares and troubles which our Reformer had to bear, was to a certain extent lightened to him by the kind sympathy and tender regards of a noble-minded spouse. But few historical traits, indeed, have been preserved to us, to reflect the character and disposition of this faithful companion of his cares and troubles, that modesty and simplicity of nature which belonged to her, and which is the highest ornament of the female character, developing itself entirely in the seclusion and privacy of domestic life; but these few traits shew us that she was worthy of the faithful affection of her great husband. The like Christian spirit which he unfolded in his great and far-reaching sphere of labours, she manifested in the smaller sphere of household activity. Thus after her marriage with Zwingli she wore no silk dress, nor gold rings, nor jewels, but was always simply attired like an ordinary burgher's or tradesman's wife. The same order and economy which he shewed in the employment of his time, she displayed in the conduct of the household affairs, and the application of the scanty income at her disposal. In this manner, notwithstanding her limited means, she succeeded in exercising an open-hearted hospitality, and in ministering to the physical wants of the poor and sick. Capito's wish, which he pronounced to Zwingli at the wedding, was fulfilled; she could with justice be called "a fellow-servant in the Word, a help-meet of an apostle."

When Zwingli came into the family circle, he had left the gown of the man of learning and the thinker behind him; he had also laid aside the rough garment of Christ's warrior. Wherever Zwingli was there he was all and undivided. His intellectual intercourse with his wife did not consist in a talk upon the learned or scientific questions of the day, or the great conflicts in which the Reformer was engaged; their topics of conversation were, the Christian ordering of the household economy, and especially the Christian education of their children; and it was in the happy attainment of such objects that they set the joys of their domestic life. The letter is characteristic which Zwingli wrote to his wife from Berne, when he attended the Disputation in that town, upon his hearing that she had been delivered of a girl: "Grace and peace from God, dearest wife. I praise God that He hath given you a happy delivery. He will grant us grace to bring up our little

daughter according to His will. Send me, for my niece, one or two coifs, such as you wear yourself. She is of good family, but not a nun; her age is about forty. I commend you to God. Pray to God for me, and for us all. Greet for me all your children. Especially comfort Margaretha in my name.* Thus his heart beat warmly both for spouse and children. What a serious view he took of the work of education, appears from his treatise on the subject, which he got printed for his step-son, Gerold Meyer. We shall extract from his writings some of his principles upon this subject, and here insert them: "The human mind is like a garden, which, if not cultivated, is soon overgrown with weeds. From youth up, therefore, it must be trained and cultivated. If this be done, a precious treasure is harvested; but where it is not done, neither hand, eye, nor tongue are placed under control, and the man is an ill-regulated being. Can good fruit be obtained from a garden full of weeds? This is the cause that orphans and bastards mostly turn out ill; they have no parent to train and educate them." "Satan desires to nestle in the hearts of the young, and to defile and destroy these as yet pure vessels. Wherefore the greatest care is requisite that they be trained in the nurture and fear of the Lord, and that these new vessels be filled with good habits and principles. Many busy themselves in hanging their likeness everywhere, that their names may be made famous, and their family become illustrious, while they neglect and despise at once God's image and the true living images of themselves. The peasant takes care, in fixed order, to plant in one place trees, in another vines, here willows, there vegetables, and yonder corn, that his grounds may be planted with fruits of all sorts. If parents and teachers bestowed the same care upon the training of the youthful mind, we should see it in a better state at the present day. It is not enough that children be taught to read and to write, they must also be trained to principles of morality, and to regulate their whole life. The vine, like every other training plant, lays hold of everything that comes in its way, without distinction, fastens to it, and winds itself about it, as, for example, round a stake or pole. For children, the father is the tree or natural prop. Parents ought therefore to bestow great care on the right education of their children."

* This short letter, as well as the request sent from Basle to the intimate

The Reformer knew, in a very ingenious manner, to awaken and to draw to himself the tender germs of intellectual development, as they manifested themselves in the young hearts of his children. This man, who investigated with such penetration and zeal the sacred depths in which truth conceals itself from the unconsecrated eye, who wrought in the vineyard of the Lord with the lofty ardour of an apostle—this man we often find, in his hours of recreation, at the cradle of his little one, singing children's songs to the accompaniment of the lute or some other instrument which he knew. "Music, which I have diligently cultivated from boyhood,"* he writes to Faber, who reproached him with it, "often renders me good service with the children, in putting them in good humour or sending them to sleep." Often at such moments, as he sang one of those mountain airs which so wonderfully affect the Swiss heart, and recalled to his memory the image of the happy days of his youth, he may have sighed to escape the conflicts and troubles of life, and give himself up to the pleasures of a sense delighting with child-like simplicity in God. Indeed he often confesses in his writings, that were he to follow the flesh, he would willingly retire into seclusion, and give up the contest; but Christ impels him to this work, and he will follow his Lord and not his own personal inclinations.

Zwingli had, by Anna Reinhard, four children, two sons and two daughters. The eldest daughter, Regula, bore a strong likeness to her mother. She married, in 1541, Ralph Gwalther, Zwingli's second successor, as Antistes in the Zurich Church, and friend of his family, that he might please enlighten his wife upon the object of his journey to Marburg, give us a pretty clear view of the relation in which Zwingli stood to his wife. The education of his children lay chiefly at his heart; for this he besought the grace of God for himself and for her. From his spouse he farther desires that she should take a part, through her prayers, in the struggles for the weal of the Church. The stories, however, about his reading satirical verses and polemical writings to her, are to be set down as fables, having their origin in rather an unhappy imitation of Luther's relation to his Kate. When she sat by Luther at the study-table, and the idle housewife asked, "Doctor, is the Chancellor of Prussia the brother of the Margrave?" (they were, as is well known, one and the same person,) or when, on the occasion of a quarrel between Luther and Erasmus, she was led to exclaim, "What a nasty toad that Erasmus is," her position is rather ridiculous than worthy of imitation.

* Zwingli could play all the musical instruments then known, according to the concurring testimony of his contemporaries.

died of the plague, in 1565; the youngest daughter, Anna, died early. William, the eldest son, died in 1541, as student of theology at Strasburg; Huldreich, the younger, born in 1528, became afterwards deacon at the Great Minster, and professor of theology at Zurich. With him the male line of the Reformer became extinct. The family of the name of Zwingli that still flourishes in the Canton of Zurich, is descended from one of his brothers, who purchased the right of citizenship in Elly, canton of Zurich.

2. ZWINGLI AMONG HIS FRIENDS.

The circle that surrounded the Reformer in his simple home was not confined to the members of his family, but was very materially increased by the visits of his numerous friends and admirers, who often came from a considerable distance, seeking instruction, counsel, or assistance from him. For the friends and supporters of evangelical truth who lived in Zurich, Zwingli's house was a general rendezvous, as well for social amusement as for serious discussion, and the free interchange of thought in the cause of truth. Here the heads of the State often assembled; the two heroic Roists, the father and the son, who, one after the other, filled with distinction the highest official dignity; the councilors, Ulrich Funk, who accompanied Zwingli to Marburg, a Thumaisen, Werdmueller, Peier, and the still young Gerold Meyer of Knonan, who had begun to devote to the service of the State the great talents and acquirements which he had cultivated under Zwingli's direction, and which gave the brightest promise of future distinction. There were the men of the Church and of science, the little, loveable, but again so courageous Leo Jud, whom Zwingli often jocularly called "his little lion;" the learned and noble-minded pastor, Engelhard, of the Frauen-muenster, who despised the learned title of "Doctor," preferring rather to be called a disciple of Christ; pastor Megander, and the canons and professors, Uttinger, Ceporin, Myconius, Ammann, Pellican, the scholar and friend, Reuchlius Brennwald, and Werner Steiner, who was forced to leave his native canton Zug, and who found here a new home among friends that were dear to him. Nor could the noble-minded Diebold von Geroldseck longer resist

the impulse of his heart. This excellent man left Einsiedeln in order to live in the vicinity of Zwingli, although once his spirit was filled with a sad foreboding, when he saw the friends of evangelical truth betaking themselves, one after another, to Zurich, (see page 114.) A select circle of friends of vocal and instrumental music, placed themselves under the skilful leadership of Zwingli, for the organisation of musical parties at each others' houses. Out of these highly agreeable musical entertainments there sprang, as citizens and peasants readily took their domestic habits at this great period from their venerated pastor, the fine quartette for sacred music,—which became general in the cottages of reformed Switzerland, and which was afterwards transplanted into the Church. Zwingli and his friends may therefore, on good grounds, be regarded as the founders, as well of those evening musical entertainments, still, at least in winter, so common in reformed Switzerland, and which are attended with such beneficial effects, as of the fine quartette in sacred music.*

At their meetings the assembled friends discussed the great concerns of the gospel. A principal subject of deliberation was the mode in which it was to be carried to victory in church and state, and the free preaching of the Word secured against the assaults of an insolent and powerful enemy. The ministers and the men of learning communicated the results of their investigations to one another, ever developing new views in the departments of Christian doctrine and science; their discussions, however, were always conducted in a spirit of pure love to the truth, and free from all personal considerations. "Whoever finds me wrong," writes Zwingli, "let him, with Christian love, tell me I am wrong, as often as he finds me in error. Nay, if he thinks fit, let him bring the truth to light, for the common good, without any regard to me at all, because our friends are accustomed to listen to the suggestions of the brethren. How often, for example, has it occurred, that I have changed my opinion, after hearing the observations of my colleagues, Pellican and Leo Jud, and they on hearing mine. In my opinion, truth is to the

* For this opinion, here, as far as I know, for the first time, expressed, I could advance many historical proofs. As, however, this is not the proper place for these, I confine myself to expressing the wish that those who are interested in the history of our church-music may not overlook the hint here given.

human soul, what the sun is to the world. Wherever he rises we hail him with joy, and gird ourselves cheerfully to our work. In the same manner the soul rejoices in the light of truth whenever it beams upon her; she looks joyfully up and congratulates herself that the darkness of ignorance has been chased away by its radiance. As nothing can be more welcome to the world than the sun, so nothing can be more lovely, more precious, more sublime, in the estimation of the soul, than truth." In another place, he says: "Whoever brings the truth to light, be it even through a calumny of myself, becomes thereby my friend; he enriches, rejoices my soul, and leads her to higher heights of accomplishment. Let my enemies, then, lose no time in dissipating from my mind the mists of error; let them blacken my name and reputation to their heart's content; if I am illuminated I am content, and already begin to be here, that which I one day hope to be by God in heaven."

But from the far distance the friends of evangelical truth were to be seen, like pilgrims betaking themselves to some sanctuary, journeying to Zurich and to Zwingli, there seeking increase in knowledge, or protection against oppression, or help in outward trouble. To all, how various soever their situation or necessities might be, the Reformer's house stood open, and while they partook at his table of a frank hospitality, their minds were instructed by his conversation, and confirmed in the truth; they had higher aims pointed out to them, and they were led on to nobler endeavours. What a piebald host of men from the various countries of Europe, have received liberal supplies for the soul and the body, in the simple house of the parish priest at the Great Minster. Ulrich Duke of Wirtemberg, expelled from his country, and sojourning for a time in Zurich, was one of Zwingli's regular hearers, and a guest at his board. Under the Reformer's wholesome influence, the worldling gradually freed himself from the snares of youthful levity to which he owed his misfortunes and his banishment, and ripening into a more serious and manly character, became worthier of the better fortunes which his reformation afterwards gained for him. Hither, too, must his bitterest enemy, Ulrich von Hutten, direct his flight, who had effected by the power of his writings the Duke's fall, to find from Zwingli, as already mentioned, the most magnanimous

support and aid in his hour of trial, so that his soul lived again with the best hopes for the friends of truth. Hither, too, the young Polish noble, John von Lasky, arrayed in the rich and picturesque costume of the nobles of his country, directed his footsteps, while the barefoot monk, Lambert of Avignon, was to be seen travelling the same road, in the grey gown of his order. Here the cool-headed Dutchmen, Rhodius and Sagan, met the fiery Italians, who, from love to the truth, were prepared to exchange their beautiful fatherland for a new home under a raw northern sky. Here Anemundus Coctus, the nobleman, glowing with the love of evangelical truth from Dauphiny, sought counsel as to how the truth might be rendered triumphant in France. Hither, too, the poor witness of the truth, Hans Raebmann, who was blinded in both eyes by the orders of the Earl of Sulz, in Klettgau, was led to Zwingli, the friend of all the afflicted, for consolation and aid.* By Zwingli's influence, the cruelly maltreated minister of the gospel was elected pastor of Lufingen, where, for thirty years, he laboured with blessing, and was afterwards appointed pastor in the hospital of Zurich.

But although Zwingli's house was thus an asylum of safety and consolation to the hard-pressed sons of affliction, his large heart was by no means closed against manly joy; grieving with the grieved, he could also rejoice with the glad. We find him sometimes taking a part in those civil and popular festivities, which have ever been common in Switzerland, like a real man of the people, that equally shares the joys and sorrows of his fellow-citizens. In August 1526, the following festivity took place: The friend of his youth, Burgomaster Vadian of St. Gall, came with about thirty sharp-shooters to Zurich to a shooting-match. In honour of these esteemed guests, who shortly before had

* Hans Raebmann was a native of Thurgau, but brought up in Waldshut, and appointed pastor at Klettgau. Becoming suspected to the nobility of the place as a friend of the Reformation, he had his two eyes burned out by a spoon-like instrument, made red-hot, at the command of Count Rudolf, of Sulz, in the castle of Kuessenberg, after the suppression of the peasant-insurrection, and in this state he was sent, along with two others, who had their fingers cut off, to Waldshut. On the taking of this town he was marched out of the gate to the sound of drums, and pipes, as an object of general mockery. Thus he came to Zurich. In Lufingen his memory still lives in the name of a bridge, which was built under his direction over the Toess, and which is called, "The Blindman's Bridge."

engaged to stand by Zurich with their all, and to the last drop of their blood, a grand festive banquet was got up by all the guilds. To this banquet eight hundred persons marched in procession through the town, trumpets, pipes, and drums playing. Zwingli, too, and his colleagues, were in the number of the guests. In his opinion, participation in public festivals was sanctioned in Scripture, and hallowed by the example of our Saviour. Let us fancy to ourselves the Reformer, seated next his friend Vadian, formerly Rector of the High School of Vienna, surrounded by illustrious warriors and statesmen, begirt by a circle of like-minded friends and colleagues, and flanked by a crowd of enthusiastic youths, ripening into years of manhood—all animated with the resolution of daring everything in the cause of evangelical truth, and the glory of their native country; and we have one of those genuine Swiss popular demonstrations in which the glory of a free Christian State finely displays itself.

With his friends at a distance our Reformer carried on an animated correspondence, a monument of which exists in his numerous letters still preserved to us, although the collection is far from being complete. These afford us a striking testimony to his steady friendship, and the deep interest he took in the weal and woe of individual fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, as well as of the Reformed Church generally. They also present us, and all the more that they are the spontaneous effusions of the moment, with a faithful image of his great soul, pure at once and lofty. We see it divesting itself of all that is essentially low and common, which will be found still to adhere to many even of the best of his contemporaries. We see it unweariedly soaring into higher regions of intellectual and moral development.

3. ZWINGLI'S SEARCH AFTER TRUTH, OR HIS INTELLECTUAL CONVERSE WITH THE HOLY AND THE GREAT MEN OF ANTIQUITY.

If the Reformer stood in the closest relations to the present by the activity of his very practical mind, by the manifold friendly relations he cultivated, both personally and by letter, as also by the hot conflicts he waged with his adversaries, he kept up,

in his ardent inquiries after truth, an intercourse scarcely less familiar with those great and holy men of the past, whom God animated with His Spirit to proclaim His truth to the world. Whoever will rightly understand the Scriptures, must make himself acquainted with the languages in which they were originally written, and with the various relations which characterised, and the ideas current at the time of their composition, in order that he may be able to distinguish the kernel of divine truth from the human hull in which it was of necessity wrapped, in order that it might be made intelligible and comprehensible to the human mind. Accordingly, Zwingli, after he had proposed to himself the pure and unadulterated preaching of the Word of God, directed his efforts unweariedly to obtain a nearer acquaintance with the sacred oracles. We have already seen with what zeal he studied the writings of the New Testament in the original language in which they were written. We have seen that he copied out all the letters of Paul in Greek characters, that he might have them ever by him, and learn them by heart. From this time forward he read and studied the Old Testament, not in the often erroneous and incorrect Latin translation known as the Vulgate, the only one in use, and authorised by the Romish Church, but in the more correct Greek Septuagint. But even this in the sequel was not enough for the man who would draw truth alone from the fountain-head. The Reformer, in the zenith of his fame, and in the midst of his manifold reforming labours, formed the resolution to learn Hebrew. A certain Andrew Boeschenstein came to Zurich, and offered to give instructions in it. Zwingli was his first, and probably his most enthusiastic scholar. Impelled by his zeal, and favoured by his great talent for languages, he was soon in a position to read the most difficult books of the Old Testament with ease, and to explain them in his own perspicuous and fundamental manner.

Upon the importance of the study of the Hebrew language Zwingli observes, in his comprehensive preface to his "Explanation of Isaiah:" "The ignorance of Hebrew forms of expression has led to an erroneous interpretation of many passages of Scripture, not only by those unlearned and reckless individuals, who pass sweeping judgments, with the more arrogance the greater their ignorance is, on all the subjects of antiquity, but even by

truly pious and learned men themselves. Now certain figures of speech are so peculiar and native to the Hebrew, that it is impossible to render them into any other language. Translators and commentators, however, have given us the Hebrew forms of expression without breaking down and reducing the figures they contain, which are untranslatable into any foreign language whatever, so as to present us with their real signification and sense. They have not changed these images into correspondent terms and figures in another language. Thus we have translations in which the words indeed are counted, but the thoughts carelessly and dubiously expressed. Hence obscurity, ignorance, uncertainty what to make of the meaning. The still worse consequences follow of dissension, impudent declamations, upon things which one does not at all understand, and violent invectives against the opponent. For the words being understood according to the rudiments of grammar, but the thoughts not being at all comprehended, the interpreter of the sense, partly out of the shame of confessing his ignorance, partly out of self-love, which makes us more confident than we ought to be, and attempt more than we can accomplish, gives way to assumptions, and to the fabrication of foolish allegories, while he ought to have turned his attention to the investigation of antiquity, and made himself thoroughly conversant with the customs and modes of thinking of each particular age in which the authors may have lived and written. Then it would have been seen that although indeed a skill in composition, such as the Greeks and Romans display in the arrangement of the parts, may be missed, (although many passages are to be met with to which the most finished art can add nothing,) an incomparable light and warmth is discoverable in the words and thoughts; then we should have penetrated into the knowledge of the ideas and tropes, the images and the figures of speech which meet us at every turn in the books of Scripture, so that there is scarcely a single sentence in the Bible that can be opened by any other keys but such as these; then we should have clearly known *the thoughts of inspiration*, and not rashly substituted our own for the thoughts of Scripture; then long ago all uncertainty would have disappeared. I do not say this in a boastful spirit, as if in my interpretation I had completely opened up the sense, but because I find that my predecessors in inter-

pretation have nowhere been more successful in the work than where they had these resources at hand." The knowledge of Hebrew is also requisite, in Zwingli's opinion, to the right understanding of the Greek writings of the New Testament; "for," says he, "the Lord Jesus and the writers of the New Testament were Hebrews, and they transferred the peculiarities of their mother tongue into the Greek, just as we find Latin written after the German idiom, and German after the Latin idiom, by those who are not thoroughly conversant with both languages." The writings of Greece and Rome, too, which give us so clear an insight into the relations and the modes of thinking which prevailed in ancient times, were held by our Reformer to be helps towards obtaining the true sense of Scripture, although independently of this consideration, he by no means undervalued these writings as models of eloquence, nor shut his eyes to the manifold beauties they contain. In the light of a faith kindled in his soul at the writings of the prophets and apostles, the artistic beauties of the Greek and Roman classics shone only in higher lustre before his mind's eye. We observe this especially in the preface with which he accompanied an edition of Pindar, edited by Ceperin, from which we extract the following passage: "If it can be said of any one, it may be said of Pindar, he had an uncorrupted intellect, that was ever striving after the true, the holy, the pure. The stream of his poetry flows on undulating in the clearest waves. All in them is learned, tasteful, pure, fitting, of antique cast, wise, noble, captivating, comprehensive, finished. Sublimely he speaks—of the gods, indeed, not, however, of that crowd of gods, but, under their names, of the *one* divine and heavenly Being. It would take up too much time to illustrate by examples all that I have said in praise of Pindar's language and imagery. I would simply kindle a light for the curious reader, that he may hasten immediately and dig these treasures for himself. In my opinion there is no Greek author so well-fitted to throw light on Scripture as Pindar, especially on the most difficult of the Hebrew songs and hymns, as for example, the Psalms and Job. For we have songs from these men of God that not only surpass all others in depth of thought and piety of feeling, but which are second to none, not even to Pindar's poems, in art, dignity, and grace. But neglect-

ing, as we do, the study of the ancients, (for we are more concerned our own works be read than others',) we forcibly express from the Hebrew poets a sense quite foreign to them. That we may get rid of these lamentable results, at once of ignorance and presumption, let us repair to this poet, that he may lend us of the gold, the silver, and the splendid dresses in which he is so rich, that with his expressions we may be able to designate the truth, or if it should be denied us to become acquainted with herself, that we may at least make a nearer approach to it, by contemplating more closely her shining vesture. I don't concern myself with those repulsive grovellers to whom purity itself is impure, and who deem it the greatest crime to read a heathen poet. I am not recommending every poet, but him from the perusal of whose works we cannot possibly sustain loss, but may draw infinite profit and advantage, and who, in the investigation of the Hebrew writings, will be of more service to us than all the other Greek and Roman poets put together. The age of antiquity, like every other age, has its own peculiarities, which can alone be laid hold of by a familiar intercourse with the ancients. Pindar, however, has not only in his language, but in his spirit and innermost being, resemblance with this sacred age. May God grant that we learn from the heathen poet to understand the truth promulgated by the Hebrews, and to set her gracefully before the minds of men." With the same rapid glance by which Paul saw the altar to "the unknown God" at Athens pointing to the alone true God, and read in the sentence of a heathen poet (Acts xvii. 23-28.) the evidence of man's affinity to his Creator, Zwingli, while studying the Greek and Roman authors as helps to the right understanding of Scripture, perceived in them the traces of a divine revelation, made by God's grace even to the heathens. "Religion," says he, "has not been confined within the boundaries of Palestine, since God did not alone create Palestine; He created the whole world. The animating and enlightening power of His Spirit shows itself everywhere operative. All is divine which is true, holy, genuine; for God is truth. Whoever speaks truth, speaks from God, and God has enlightened him. I venture even to call that divine, which is borrowed from the heathens, in so far as it is holy, tends to piety, and is undeniably true. For this must come from God, no

matter through what channels it arrives at us. When I quote profane testimony, I am not to be deterred from doing so, by the animadversions of those who have not learned that a writing deserves only then to be called holy, when it proclaims the mind and will of the holy, pure, eternal, and infallible One Spirit. If you find then in Plato, or Pythagoras, something you recognise as deriving its origin from the source of truth, you are not to despise it because a mortal has penned it; it is much more your duty to seek thereby a more familiar converse with the Deity, that you may with a clearer eye contemplate the truth, inasmuch as you see that those who did not dare openly to confess their faith in one God, yet had it within them. Wherever this faith discovers itself, it is from God, let a man dwell among the beasts. We quote the words of Seneca and of Plato, because they are derived from the source of divine truth. For we who regard not *who* writes, but *what* is written, willingly accept truth, even from the hands of the heathens, knowing that all truth is of God, by whomsoever it be revealed."

Although Zwingli saw with the same clear and unjaundiced eye with which Paul read the law, written in the hearts of the Gentiles, (Rom. ii. 14.) as an eternal divine revelation, the traces of revealed truth as they discovered themselves in the writings of Greece and Rome, hailed them with joy, and found himself thereby confirmed in his enthusiasm for these master pieces of antiquity, he did not close his eyes to the perversity of moral vision apparent even in the best of them. It was this very corruption of the moral sense which afforded him the clearest evidence of the native depravity of the heart of man, as taught in Scripture, and more particularly, in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. "When Cicero," Zwingli writes, "asserts in his speech for the poet Archias, that man does all from the desire of glory, he so closely agrees with the statement of Paul, 'I know that in me, (that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing,' Rom. vii. 18, that his assertion appears rather the result of divine inspiration, than the reflection of the ambitious and vain-glorious Cicero. For how else could he so far betray himself, as to maintain here, that a desire of glory is the moving spring of all our actions, when in other places, he would have us to understand that it is a love to virtue and the common good? His words are, 'Pure

virtue desires no other reward for her labours and dangers, than that of honour and of glory. Withdraw from us, judges, this reward, and what remains for us to toil for in this present so short and fleeting life? Without doubt, the soul, had she no presentiment of futurity, nor anything on which to fix her gaze beyond the boundaries of the present life, would never drudge with so many labours, so many cares, so many vigils, nor would she place life so often at stake. But now we see a certain power within us, and the better the man is, the stronger is this power which spurs us on, and encourages us day and night by the attractions of glory, not to let the memory of our name perish with our existence, but to hand it down to latest posterity, &c. &c. Mark how Cicero here discloses to us the heart of man. He tells us there dwells in the mind of the best, a power or faculty that spurs it on unweariedly in the pursuit of glory, and that directs to this object all its thoughts, schemes, and undertakings. What, however, he calls a power or faculty, is, as we believers know, nothing but *spiritual death, and sin, and the lamentable condition of fallen man*, who ever loves himself, and seeks his own. If you find among believers, men who deny that all human actions have their ground in glory, or selfishness, you may esteem it as certain that such are not believers at all, but carnal and slaves of sin. For so long as we defend ourselves, it is certain that the light of the Spirit fails us, which shows and discovers the man to himself. A heathen writer must here indeed instruct us, and teach us that all our plans are based in selfishness. In my opinion, there is none untouched by the desire of glory, even then, when he is zealously maintaining we must despise all glory. This is often observable in Plato. Whenever he introduces Socrates as philosophising, it is remarkable he does this with such a pomp of language, and so many circumlocutory speeches, that he evidently appears most of all to have striven after glory there, where he represents Socrates in the character of the greatest despiser of glory. I mention these things, if possible, to open the eyes of those who hang on philosophy, that they may know what is in man." In this unprejudiced and serious spirit, Zwingli read the works of the Greek and Roman authors. The central point with him was divine truth, as revealed in the Word of God, by the standard

of which also he measured and estimated the traces of a divine revelation in pagan writings.

But the reflections of his active mind extended themselves over other departments of knowledge. General history, especially that of his native country, was next to that of the Church of Christ, a field in which he loved to expatiate. Having trained and sharpened his natural turn for history under such great masters as Thucydides, Livy, and Sallust, he was prepared to enter with success the dark ground of story and tradition, in which historical facts are, in the earlier periods of a nation, for the most part enveloped and obscured. He resolved to draw his information alone from authentic sources, the course he had pursued in his search after religious truth; and directing his inquiries on this principle, he amassed a rich treasure of correct historical knowledge, at the extent of which, we, at the present day, cannot but feel surprised. Natural philosophy also attracted his attention. He was led to this study by the desire to understand more clearly the relation of natural phenomena to God the Creator of the universe. "Whoever," he observes, "rises by his understanding, from visible nature to the contemplation of the invisible Godhead, does, and not without the illumination of God himself, what is worthy of God and of himself, and extremely wholesome." Thus reflection and investigation in him went out from God, and found in God again their object and end, as the mountains of his native country are in the morning touched by the rosy tinge of God's sun, and when the shades of evening descend on the earth still retain his splendours.

4. ZWINGLI'S COMMUNION WITH GOD; THE LOFTY REACH AND UNSHAKEN CONSTANCY OF HIS FAITH.

Zwingli's soul, indeed, found itself elevated and strengthened by familiar intercourse and talk with like-minded friends, as well as by the study of Holy Scripture, and the masterly works of Greece and Rome, by which the holy and great men who composed them were brought nearer to him, and, so to say, brought into the circle of his friends; but highest to him of all was spi-

ritual intercourse with God in prayer. "He strongly recommended prayer," says Bullinger, "and he himself prayed much daily." "If we become," says Zwingli himself, "more learned and better by conversation and familiar intercourse with a learned and good man, how much more when we hold familiar converse with God. This light enlightens all; no one nears it who does not retire from it a nobler and a better man. Whoever, therefore, has accustomed himself to hold frequent converse with God, and to seek help from Him, feels himself ever strengthened and encouraged after prayer. In the hour of danger, he says: "O Lord! thus it has pleased Thee. But I doubt not Thou wilt so order matters in Thy great goodness, that, with the temptation, Thou wilt also shew a way of escape. I know that Thou wilt advance Thy glory, justice, and truth, however the adversaries may storm and rage. I know Thou wilt stretch to Thy servant the hand of help. And although, in the meantime, I may come into peril of my life, and fall, yet I doubt not Thou wilt, after my death, accomplish Thy work, and ride forth everywhere in Thy glory triumphantly." In regard to the right mode of praying, he thus expresses himself: "When Christ says, 'And when ye pray, use not many words, as the heathens do,' He does not mean to deter us from prayer, but He means to instruct us in prayer, which does not consist in the multitude of words, but in *fervour of faith*. Prayer requires only few words; but, on the other hand, *great devotion, deep feeling*. Prayer is the elevation and ascent of the soul to God; let it be therefore sober, fervent, pure, and simple, without the pomp of words. Many arrows let off at once have a slower flight, being hindered by their feathers; one sent alone flies swifter to the mark." By prayer, he felt his soul become daily freer from earthly bonds, daily more light from above beaming into his soul. "It is with us," says he, "as with those who go to sea. To them the land appears of much greater extent than the sea; but the farther they stretch out to sea the more they discover what a small proportion the land bears to the sea. Then their eyes behold many sea-monsters, and they are filled with wonder at the immeasurable ocean which surrounds them. So it is with us; so long as we cleave to the dust, and the things of earth, i.e., to our own understanding, we know nothing of the works and ways of God, but when we direct our regards from the

earthly to the Divine, then we become acquainted with what fills us with astonishment indeed. But what is the sea of which I speak but the divine providence and economy of all things, the infinite and inexhaustible power and operation of God? Come, then, let us put out to sea, and let us begin the contemplation of the works of God, and we shall discover glorious things. Let us consider the wondrous works of God, ever exercising our minds to the contemplation of greater and still greater. Let us get rid to-day of this fault, to-morrow of that, and so gradually advance till we arrive at the perfect man. We dare not stand still, for we are upon our journey, and indeed we tread a very dirty and slippery path, and have not yet reached the goal."

With such a penetrating intellect, consecrated by the prayer of faith, Zwingli strove to pierce deeper and deeper into the counsel of God, which filled him with the loftiest admiration, and which moved him to an intense adoration of the Divine wisdom and goodness. In the following passage, he very happily and beautifully expresses these feelings: "All that happens, we may call it accidental or predetermined, happens through the omnipresent foresight of God, be it in reference to things without life, or to living beings, and to beings endowed with reason and understanding, although we may not plainly recognise it, being sunk through our gross corporeal nature in the deep darkness of ignorance. But when it is given to one to contemplate these events from a higher point of view, O God, what joy he has in the discovery everywhere of the wisdom and goodness of God. Nay, the contemplation of the whole universe, all beautiful though it be, is but weariness, in comparison of the rapture which fills his soul when he ascends upwards to God, and adores Him as the artificer of the whole. With what admiration, for example, of the providence of God, is not a pious soul filled, when it considers the case of Jeroboam, how he was ordained of God to divide Israel into two kingdoms, but who was soon faithless to Him who had raised him, setting up golden calves as idols, and thereby bringing ruin, first on Israel, afterwards on Judah. For it was a monstrous act of impiety to seduce the people from the true God to idolatry. The divine counsel, therefore, had been very unwise, to set a man upon the throne, who, in the end, was to be apostate from God, if God had not beforehand resolved himself

as to what should happen, and determined to make use of the treachery of Jeroboam. I say when the pious mind considers the consequences here, it is so far from cavilling with God, that it rather admires and praises His decrees. Supreme goodness had determined to turn itself for a season from the Jewish people, and on the other hand, to choose idolaters. Therefore it prepared the event it would bring upon Israel through Jeroboam. For from this time Israel began to sink, till at length it fell under the Babylonian and Roman captivities. The heathen nations who came into its place, triumphed, then, in the knowledge of God. Is not faith, when it sees this, caught with a wondrous joy? Good is ever evolved from that which God operates, even although the matter may have begun with some great crime. Jacob plains over his son Joseph that wild beasts have torn him, while his brothers had perpetrated a fratricidal crime upon him. But what a glad result crowned the whole? The father weened he would die of grief; but that became life and salvation to himself and his children, and to vast numbers besides, which was begun in crime and blood. Nor is God either unjust or capricious when he visits the father with sorrow, the son with hardship. Or who reproaches a peasant with letting part of his wood stand till the trees become tall and suitable for beams, deals and laths to build a house therefrom, while he consumes another part as firewood? Is not the application of the one part as well as the other advantageous and useful, nay, necessary for the proprietor, so that the part that is burned is actually more useful than that out of which the house is built? Just as little can the misfortunes, which befell these righteous persons, Jacob and Joseph, establish an act of violence or of cruelty on the part of God: partly because all things in a truer sense belong to God than the wood does to the peasant, partly because all His works take a happy result, not at the time indeed *when* we wish it, but when it is most fitting, which He alone knows. Herod perpetrated an inhuman act, when he ordered the murdering of the tender helpless babes; and yet two advantages sprang from this cruel deed: one is, that we see Christ escaping, through the guiding hand of God, the wicked design against his life, and that it is vain to strive against God; the other is, that an example is given us how impotent fury, cruelty, and fear of losing the

kingdom, rage in vain. O! might princes oftener take this to heart in our own days! From the providence of God there arises predestination, or, which is the same, preordination and election. Election is the free resolution, or spontaneous decision of the divine will as to who shall be saved. 'I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious; and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy,' *Exod. xxxiii. 19*, saith the Lord. What is this else but, in a pure sense of sovereignty, saying: 'I distribute mercy according to my good pleasure, not moved by the prayers or by the misery of those who implore me, but as a free grace-gift of election. For the wicked also cry for help?' This view becomes clearer and more intelligible when we weigh the words which the Lord spake to Moses to put courage in him: 'And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt. But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you,' *Exod. vii. 3*. From the case of Pharaoh we see that God, by such examples of rashness and obstinacy, will manifest to the world His *power* as well as His *justice*. For when He hardens men so that they strive against Him, there is not the slightest doubt that He does this solely to exhibit to the world in them an example of His justice. The reverse follows, when He makes Moses a leader of the people, and David a king; when He has mercy on the thief dying on the cross; and on Peter, who, in the hour of danger, abandoned him, and shamefacedly denied him; on them He took compassion that He might shew examples of His goodness. Paul manifestly alludes to this, when he says, 'Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth,' *Rom. ix. 18*. What else does he mean here but that election and rejection are both acts of God's free will? The merit of our works is thus undermined. For either election and free grace must fall to the ground, or our merits. For if salvation is acquired by works, it is no longer a free gift. But if it is a free gift, it is no more a reward of our works, as Paul proves in the clearest manner, *Rom. xi*. But how comes it that deliverance from sin, and that eternal salvation are in so many passages of Holy Scripture, ascribed to faith? Let us see to *whom* faith, this free gift of God, is given. Faith is given to those who are chosen and appointed to everlasting life; but so that election goes before, while faith follows as a pledge or sign.

For thus Paul writes: 'For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate; moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified,' Rom. viii. 29. This statement very clearly explains our view. Paul intends to shew that the predestination and choice of God are the grounds and reasons of our investiture with eternal glory. Is this predestination and election resolved upon, then the man is called by God, not only in the general call, which consists in the outward preaching of the Word, but so that the Spirit opens the ear of the elect to hear, and leads them to attend to that which God commands or promises. Those whom God calls, He pronounces righteous, *i.e.*, He makes them free from sin. Can there thus be any other justification except that by faith? The whole doctrine of Christ and the apostles goes to prove there is no other acquittance or justification but that by faith. They, however, who have faith are heirs of eternal felicity. And from all this, we recognise that faith is given to them who are chosen. Not as though faith were a work to which the forgiveness of sins necessarily attaches, but because they who have faith in God know beyond all doubt that God is reconciled to them through His Son, and that the debt of sin is cancelled. These, however, are so elected, that their election is not only known to God, but also to them, the elect themselves. Another testimony, to the effect that faith is vouchsafed to the elect alone, we have in Acts xiii. 48: 'And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.' Mark, it was they who were predestined to eternal life that believed. It is thus manifest that they who believe know that they are elected, and that they who are elected believe. When, then, the prize of everlasting life is ascribed to faith, that is attributed to the later act, which serves as the sealing, which properly belongs to the earlier as the means. Faith is the sign of that election by which truly we are saved. If the blossom of election had not preceded it, the fruit of faith would never have shewn itself. It follows also, on the other hand, that they who hear the ground of faith, but who comprehend it not, are predestinated and ordained to everlasting punishment. For whoever believed the apostle's preaching, was chosen to eternal life. And in regard to the reverse case, Christ himself says: 'He that believeth not the

gospel,' preached and heard, for the words precede 'preach the gospel to every creature' is already damned. Unfaith is thus as certain a sign of damnation as faith is of salvation. Accordingly we observe, in passing, that those passages of Scripture are to be cautiously taken, in which it is said, believers alone are saved; for this statement has reference only to those who have *heard* and believed. The same holds good with respect to the condemnation of unbelievers. Reference is only made to those who have heard, and yet have not believed. Of the others we cannot judge, no man's election being known to us. We cannot judge, partly because Paul writes: 'If the Gentile fulfil the law, he is thereby a Jew,' shewing the law of God written in his heart; partly because Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the mother of the Saviour, Peter, Paul, were chosen of God already, as children, nay, before the creation of the world, and when they had not faith. It does not hold good, then, in general: 'Whosoever has not faith is damned,' but 'Whosoever has heard the doctrine of faith proclaimed, and yet *continues and dies* in unbelief, him we can *perhaps* count among the lost.' For many do not believe when they hear; then only, when they have been apprehended and drawn by the Spirit like Paul. Wherefore this judgment can only be pronounced on those who continue in unbelief till death. In this manner the two passages are reconcileable: 'Whosoever believes not is condemned,' and, 'If the Gentile live according to the law, it becomes to him the foreskin of circumcision.' 'For if the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, they who have not the law are a law to themselves.' For there stands in the way nothing against God's electing from the Gentiles such as honour, obey, and, after death, unite themselves to Him. *For His power of election is free.* If the choice stood open to me, I might rather choose the lot of a Socrates, or a Seneca, who not only recognised one God over all, but also endeavoured to please Him, by keeping a pure heart towards Him, to that of the Roman pope, who would fain give himself out for a god, or of any of the kings or princes who protect such idolatry. Who is there who admires not the faith of the pious Seneca, who, in the eighty-third year of his age, could write thus to his friend Lucilius: 'We must live in all respects

as if we were conscious of living under the eyes of some one who could penetrate into the innermost of our hearts. And there is One who can do it. For of what use is it to keep things secret from man? Nothing is hid from God. He is near our souls, and comes between us when we are in the midst of our own thoughts.' Thus far Seneca. Now, who inscribed such a faith as this in his heart? Wherever a man is anxious to do that which pleases God, in that man is religion and faith. And Jethro also proves this, who was filled to such a degree with heavenly wisdom that he even rendered aid to Moses in his legislation, the man who spoke immediately with God. The centurion Cornelius is a proof of it likewise, whose alms and prayers were acceptable to God even before the gospel had come to him. God can immediately infuse faith into the hearts of the heathen, which faith they give evidence of, and manifest by their works, as I think, not without good reason, was the case with Socrates, Seneca, and many others. Let none suppose that in what I say my intention is to depreciate or derogate from the glory of Christ, as some falsely attribute to me; on the contrary, what I say glorifies His name. For whoever will come to God must come to Him *through Christ*. And although the outward gospel has not been preached to those, God can save them through Him. For whoever is saved, is saved through Christ, *i.e.*, through the mercy of God manifested to the world in Christ. For, when Supreme Wisdom saw that man would suffer shipwreck through the fault of a tree, it cast to him a piece of wood (the cross,) to save him, and resolved to pull him ashore, giving him the promise that One, born of a woman, should bruise the head of the common foe; else through his cunning wiles the transgressors had been lost. But this had not been an upright promise on the part of God, if the fruit of this victory had not availed Adam. Adam, however, recognised that this promised seed would not only be for salvation to his posterity but also to himself, and the confiding hope he set in it did not deceive him. Now, Adam's guilt so affected his posterity that only what is corrupt comes into the world; yet Christ's righteousness has the virtue of rendering this corruption noxious to us. If the question, however, be put, Did Christ restore the whole human family, or only the church of believers? I might shortly answer; Christ has brought, by His salvation, as

much good into the world as Adam, by his sinning, brought evil; or, Adam infected the whole mass with original sin, consequently Christ has again restored the whole mass. 'For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.' (Rom. v. 15.) In short, God's free election, and the law written in the hearts of all men, are true; notwithstanding those who are elected, and those who do the work of the law according to the law written in their hearts, come to God alone through Christ. For He is the Son for whom the Father has prepared the wedding-feast, and called the guests."

Penetrated with such a conviction of the grace of God, and adoring the wisdom, justice, mercy, and all-sovereignty of the Highest, our Reformer looked upon himself as an instrument in the hand of Providence, selected for His great work. "Whoever," says he, "is filled with the Spirit of God, is ever on the alert to do something for the benefit of his neighbour, is unwearied in every good work, and rather is fearful that he may do less than he ought. God's Spirit is always active in the holy; they are like a windmill on the top of a hill put in motion by the pressure of the wind. Let us bear in mind that we are instruments of the divine purposes, which God employs for the execution of His will. We must therefore be active and fervent in the work, not sleepy and slothful, we must not withdraw from the divine work, nor take holiday, but be ever on the alert, and ready to bear a hand to the work. A right recognition of God's providence is for the holy and God-fearing one of the best remedies against the dangers which threaten them from prosperity and adversity. Are this world's goods our portion, beauty, health, children, posts of honour? and do we recognise these as gifts of Providence? What a comfort, and what zeal in God's service does this feeling engender in our souls! Comfort and refreshment from seeing that what concerns even the body is the gift of God, and that thus we may enjoy it; zeal and diligence to reciprocate, in no niggardly spirit, what is freely given. From the one feeling gratitude arises, from the other watchfulness over one's self, and a holy walk. On the other hand, are we afflicted by want, shame, or sorrow, abandonment of friends, contempt, want of success, and do we trace these to Providence? how much are we

comforted and reassured in the greatest misfortunes? With what greatness of soul can such an one raise himself above the world, and esteem at a low price all as it lies beneath him. For while he says: 'This bitter cup is handed to me by Providence, I must drink it, and with unshaken faith overcome by patience; thou art God's instrument, He will use thee up by using thee, not by leaving thee idle. O happy one whom He calls to His work;' while he so speaks to himself, he is preparing to give up his life, perceiving the whole world can promise him nothing but all sorts of calamities and troubles. Will not such a saint resign willingly the whole world if it were in his hands? For who would not give up an estate that yielded him nothing but fruitless pains? And to this very point the believer's recognition of Providence leads. For, seeing that fortune's so-called goods are mutable and fleeting, so that they have nowhere a firm footing, shall we not (if we act as reasonable creatures) give all diligence to render our own footing at least firm, and that we do not allow ourselves to be cast hither and thither with them, just as a ship, to escape the storm, steers behind some headland, where it casts anchor? But what else can make us strong against the waves of fate but the contemplation of Providence. This it is that whispers to the manly soul: 'Do not fancy that this happens by chance; it is done at my command; it must be so; it cannot but be so. If you bear it nobly you celebrate a glorious triumph, not by those who hail the vicious knave who but perpetrates some bloody deed, but by that assembly of the blessed, in which of all the righteous, the heroic, the wise, the learned, the holy, who have lived since the foundation of the world, none fails; where rashness no more passes for courage, hypocrisy for piety, readiness of tongue for learning, nor glibness of tongue for wisdom. There a Judge decides whom none can deceive, and who also himself deceives none.' If, however, out of indolence or despair, you flee from toil and exertion, eternal disgrace will be your portion; for the Captain to whom you have been faithless cannot be deceived, for His eye pierces into the most secret recesses of the human heart. Your fault, then, cannot be denied or concealed; for He sees written on our foreheads what we have done, and sees also the sins of others. Although to men you may give your sin another name, you cannot to God."

Against the dangers, too, which threatened him in the preaching of the gospel, Zwingli derived, from the assurance that he was an instrument in the hands of Providence, the most exalted courage. "Would you think to deter me," he intrepidly exclaims, "from the proclamation and advocacy of truth, by telling me that all who ever undertook it have lost their lives by it; verily, by this argument you make little impression upon me. For I am not ashamed of Christ that He may not be ashamed of me before His Father and the holy angels. Nor did He only die for the truth, but He who was the truth itself died. Why shall I hold up to you the apostles, since countless numbers of Christians, even of philosophers and Pagans had courage to die in the cause of the truth? The doctrine they taught, and for which they died, did not thereby cease to be true; but this is the last resource of the enemy, when he cannot bear the truth nor overcome it; he arms himself to violence, sharpens the sword, throws all into uproar. 'Tis long since I have learned that a saint is not to be terrified thereby, and that blessed is he who is evil spoken of in this world. For the more we suffer shame for the name of Christ here, the greater will be our glory hereafter. I pray the Lord that He may strengthen me, for few were those who endured to the end."

This lofty courage both to do and to suffer, sprang up in the Reformer's heart from his familiar intercourse with God in prayer, and from his believing contemplation of the course of God's providence, and His fatherly guidance of those who put their trust in Him. Let us see how this faith manifested itself, and inspired him in the last conflicts he had to wage here below in the service of his Master.

NINTH SECTION.

ZWINGLI'S LAST LABOURS; HE DIES THE DEATH OF THE
CHRISTIAN HERO AT CAPPEL, 11TH OCTOBER 1531.

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith:
Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the
Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only,
but unto all them also that love his appearing."—2 TIM. iv. 7, 8.

1. CHRISTIAN CIVIL RIGHTS.

WE have already seen what efforts were made by the papal party to suppress the Reformation in Switzerland, and how Faber and the Pope's Legate succeeded with this object in drawing into closer alliance the mountain cantons, who adhered to the old faith, with Switzerland's hereditary enemy—the Austrian Imperial Power. Zurich had for a long time to trust alone to God's help, and her own means, to meet this threatening combination of her foes, and its hostile movements, but she was steeled and elevated by the consciousness that she had a just and holy cause to defend; for Zwingli's "confidence was alone set on God, and with joy; wherefore he exhorted the whole town of Zurich that they should set their confidence in God." But an opportunity arose of uniting with reformed towns and States, who entertained like sentiments to their own, and who sighed under the like oppression. It was then that Zurich proposed, under the influence of the Reformer, the formation of an alliance to defend their civil privileges, especially as this was open to them without compromising the obligations they had come under to the Confederacy.*

* "According to the ancient treaties, the five places, (Ury, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne,) were precluded from entering into any alliances with other states, without the general consent of all the Confederates. The three original states, indeed, (Ury, Schwyz, and Unterwalden,) were not permitted even to deliberate upon the matter in their cantonal assemblies; while Zurich and Berne had reserved to themselves such a liberty when they joined the Confederacy."—HOTTINGER.

"It is well-pleasing to God," Zwingli writes upon this subject, "that those who have one mind should combine together to carry on *one* work and *one* contest of God, all in the Lord, in unity and fidelity. Cannot the good unite to save the sheep from the jaws of the wolf? Are they not to raise their voice against the wolves, and to pull away the prey? Why should it be denied to the saints to come together in an honourable manner, in order to deliberate upon religion, God's glory, the common weal, and the cause of truth and righteousness? Is it to be permitted to the wicked only to conspire, and this for the overthrow of truth and justice? The Word of God cannot, indeed, be upheld by human power, but alone by the power of God; notwithstanding, God uses man as an instrument and a vessel, to grant the aids of His grace to other men. Now if God favours the formation of a Christian union, it is plain that He will employ it to a good end." Guided by these principles, Zurich entered into a union with the neighbouring Imperial town of Constance. There the Reformation had gained such ground, through the labours of Zwingli's evangelical friends, Ambrosius Blaarer, John Zwick, John Wanner, and others, that the bishop and the majority of the canons abandoned the town, and transferred themselves to Ueberlingen and Moersburg. The Emperor threatened the town. The Austrian Vicegerent in the Vorarlbergian lands, caused his horse to ride up to its very gates. Constance, on this emergency, applied to Zurich with the offer of a mutual defensive alliance. After the negotiations had been secretly carried on for a considerable length of time, the alliance was finally concluded on the 25th December 1527,* and was called, "The Christian Burgher-Rights." Its purport runs thus :

"We, the Burgomaster, Little and Great Councils, as well as the citizens and whole community of the towns of Zurich and Constance, make known: The course of events in these days having rapidly assumed a very threatening aspect, many unfair attacks having been made, and unrighteous things done, from which it appeareth that the ruin of confederate and civil unity, and detriment to the well-being and peace of our native country, will, if the Almighty in His grace prevent not, speedily follow; we

* The deputies of "The Five Places" had already met at Insbruck as early as the 22d July 1527, to negotiate a closer union with Austria.

have, with the grace of God, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God, our Redeemer, accepted and acknowledged one another, with all ours, as faithful allies. And since faith and the soul's salvation is not in the compulsion or power of any one, but is a free and undeserved grace and gift of God, we shall both of us, the parties to this alliance, each especially in their separate jurisdictions, so act in matters of faith and the soul's salvation, as to have confidence before God, and be able to give answer according to Holy Scripture; nor shall one party disturb or attack the other on this account, nor render assistance or advice to any, whoever they be, who shall so act, nor allow them so to do. If, however, violence be offered to us, be it to the one or the other party, by reason of faith and the evangelical doctrine, by any whosoever it be, we shall, on both sides, and each for themselves, and at their own costs, defend and protect each other, with our lives and chattels. Each party have in this 'Burgher-Right' reserved the duties they owe, and we of Zurich in particular, the duties we owe to 'The Bund,' by which we are connected and devoted to our dear Confederates; as also all agreements, stipulations or treaties which may have been closed with any before this letter. In other respects, this Burgher-Right shall extend and be held against every one, to the exception of none, without fraud or equivocation."

This alliance, in defence of the rights of conscience and the free preaching of the gospel, marks the commencement of a new and higher conception of the position and duties of the Christian state. The juridical state guaranteed the security of person and property against capricious violence; the mediæval state protected the Church of the time, and her peculiar institutions, with the iron hand of power, and persecuted with fire and sword all who, under the impulse of faith, and guided by a better knowledge, dared to overstep the fixed limits she established; but freedom of conscience, the free preaching of the Word of God, the Christian state, such as Zwingli comprehended and regarded her to be, alone knows.

After, in the sequel, Berne (June 1528), St. Gall (November 1528), Biel (January 1529), Muehlhausen (February), Basle (March), and Schaffhausen (September of the same year), had joined "The Christian Burgher-Right," upon the same conditions

and obligations, the Reformer deemed it prudent to obtain new allies, even beyond the narrow bounds of his native country, for he foresaw with a clear glance the imminence of the danger which threatened the Reformed cause, from the growing union between the Pope, on the one hand, and the Emperor, with the papally disposed princes and states, on the other. In this respect, his journey to Marburg had been of signal importance. In Strasburg, he obtained better information with regard to the Emperor's designs, especially from the Town-sheriff, James Sturm. This far-seeing statesman, who was faithfully devoted to the Reformed cause, had connections with many respectable and influential men in Germany and France, through which he came into possession of many important documents, disclosing the Emperor's plans against the Reformers. Zwingli and Ulrich Funk sent copies of these deeds to the secret Council of Zurich, with the observation: "These are from the right *workshop*." The contents of these are probably contained in the following communications of the Reformer, which he made to statesmen who had his confidence: "The Emperor stirs up friend against friend, and enemy against enemy, in order to force himself betwixt them as mediator, and then he decides with a partiality which always leads him to consult the interests of the papacy and his own power. To kindle a war in Germany, he directs the Castellan of Musso* against the Graubundians, the Bishop of Constance against the town of Constance, the Bishop of Strasburg against the inhabitants of Strasburg, the Duke of Savoy against the Bernese, the Five Places against Zurich, the Abbot of St. Gall against the town, Duke George of Saxony against Duke John, to deprive the latter of his Electoral dignity, the Bishops on the Rhine against the Landgrave of Hessen. Thus he will everywhere instigate to hostility against the Reformed towns as much as he can. Then, when he has thrown the torch of war and tumult in all directions, he will bring a Spanish army into

* James von Medizis, a fool-hardy adventurer, had got possession of the fortified castle of Musso, at the entrance of the Veltlin, which then belonged to the Union, and from thence threatened and harassed the inhabitants of Graubund, the majority of whom had declared for the Reformation. That his deeds of lawless violence were perpetrated with the concurrence of the Emperor, was sufficiently proved by his receiving from him the title of a Margrave, and nine hundred Spanish troops being sent to him, to be taken into pay.

Germany, and he will befool the one party with fair but false words, and make war on the other party, till he has reduced all under his yoke." In Marburg the question of the Reformed defensive alliance was all the more seriously discussed with the Landgrave, the more plainly the danger came to be recognised through the reciprocal communications made, which threatened the Reformers on the side of the Emperor and his allies. The Landgrave had already endeavoured to bring about a similar union between the Reformed princes and towns of Germany, the failure of which, on the obstinate prejudices of Luther, who refused to co-operate with the Sacramentisers,* he witnessed with deep disappointment. With all the greater joy, Philip hailed the new Reformed Defensive Alliance, which, emanating from Zurich, gave promise of embracing the free Reformed towns of Switzerland, South Germany, and of the Rhine. He himself wished to join the alliance, along with Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg. In the secret deliberations between the two princes and the deputies of Zurich, Basle, and Strasburg, in reference to this matter, it was agreed that the Landgrave should endeavour to gain for the alliance the Protestant German princes and the North German sea towns, while Zwingli was to employ

* After the second Diet of Speyer, a Conference of the Evangelical party, at the instigation of the Landgrave, was held at Rotach (Coburg,) to take steps towards the formation of a Protestant Defensive Alliance. Luther frustrated the attempt by his scruples, to which he gave loud expression on this occasion. "Such an alliance," said he, "must, without doubt, base itself on the conscience and faith of those who unite, and an indispensable condition of it must be unity of faith. Now faith is with the other party vacillating and uncertain, and it is to be feared that in but few it exists at all. *Secondly*, It is dangerous by reason of the Landgrave, who is a restless man. *Thirdly*, It is suspicious and vexatious. For among such numbers it cannot be doubted that help will be more looked for from an arm of flesh than from God. *Fourthly*, It is unchristian on account of the heresy against the Sacrament; for since they cannot have their alliance, we must help to defend and strengthen such heresy, and when they are defended, they will be worse than ever. For as they will not better themselves in this thing, there is no hope that they will remain firm and true in other matters. Let one note here the example in Joshua vii., where, for a single Achan, the whole people of God were made to suffer calamity until the sin was punished. It may be said the towns are one with us in all respects, except this single point; but, are we by reason of unity in the others to leave this out of our regard? Answer: The one is of too great importance, for all the others are rendered impure by this one; he is not less unchristian, because, like Arius, and many more, he denies one article of the faith."

his influence to the same end with the South German Reformed towns, where the gospel was preached by his friends. Some hope was entertained of Venice* and France becoming parties to the Alliance, both being hostilely disposed to the Emperor, and in both countries decided symptoms of evangelical life having shewn themselves. According to the idea which was specially present to the Landgrave and the Swiss Reformer, this Protestant Alliance was to extend from the Adriatic to the German Ocean, and the intention was thus to set up in central Europe a Protestant power, to frustrate the dangerous schemes of the Hispano-Austrian Imperial House, and its allies. Nay, if the Emperor should design to fulfil the promise he solemnly made to the Papal ambassador at Barcelona, by attempting the suppression of the free preaching of the gospel in Germany, then, in the view of Zwingli and the Landgrave, the time would have arrived when the princes of the empire, according to right and their duties, ought to divest the Emperor of his Imperial dignity, who had thus set himself up against the command of God like Saul, and thus proclaimed himself the rejected of God, and remove him as head of the empire. "So great," wrote Zwingli afterwards to the Town-sheriff Sturm, "is the perversity and wickedness of the Emperor, that, in my opinion, the world should unite to rid itself in any way of such a burden." He wrote to the Emperor himself with all frankness of the opportunity given by God for throwing off the yoke of a tyrannical government, and which should not be allowed to pass by without being made use of. In the event of the electors having the courage to take up arms in defence of evangelical freedom, and to depose the Emperor, the leaders of the Alliance† selected the German prince who outshone all others in greatness of soul, in courage of faith and resolution, "Philip the Magnanimous,"

* We have already seen how matters stood in France. So remarkable an evangelical movement manifested itself in Venice, where the Government proclaimed its independence of the Pope, that Luther heard of it. He wrote, 7th March 1528, to Gabriel Zwilling: "Your accounts of Venice, that it has received God's Word, filled me with joy. To God be the praise and glory." Zwingli was very exactly informed upon the state of Italy; he might, therefore, on good grounds, entertain hopes of gaining over Venice to the alliance.

† To the leaders of the league, besides the Landgrave and Zwingli, there belonged Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, and James Sturm, Town-sheriff of Strasburg.

Zwingli's friend, as future Emperor. "Gracious dear Sir," the Reformer wrote to his princely friend in reference to this plan, "my writing to your Grace thus freely and childishly comes from my confidence in God that He hath selected you for great things, which I dare not utter;" to which the Landgrave answered: "Dear Mr Huldreich, I hope through the Providence of God a feather will fall from Pharaoh,* and that he will meet with what he little expects; for all things are in the way of improvement. God is wonderful. He gives me peace, and often where I had given up all hope. The time brings roses. Let this matter touching Pharaoh remain a secret with you till the time arrives."

According to the agreement made at Marburg, Zwingli zealously exerted himself with his Protestant friends in the South German free towns to promote the objects of the league. Like a thunder-cloud fraught with ruin the Emperor neared Germany, to hold at Augsburg the long-announced Diet. The Reformer's zeal rose with the approach of danger to turn aside harm from the Protestant Church. "Base cowards alone," he wrote to Councillor Conrad Zwick of Constance, "can idly look on without straining every nerve to put in arms a power that shall make the Emperor sensible that he labours in vain to re-establish Rome's supremacy, to destroy the privileges of the free towns, and to coerce us in Helvetia. Awake Lindau, awake its neighbours, and be at length men. He is a fool who trusts to the friendship of tyrants. Even Demosthenes teaches us that nothing is so hateful to them as the freedom of towns. The Emperor offers with the one hand bread, while in the other he conceals a stone." Afterwards he wrote to the same friend, and to Burgomaster Blaarer in Constance: "Only be firm and undismayed, and do not be afraid of the counsels of the Emperor. The knife must one day come to the grinding-stone."

Zwingli's friend, Ralph Collin, was despatched as secret ambassador to Zurich, on 11th December 1829, to form relations between the towns of "the Christian Burgher-right," and the free state of

* Pharaoh was the name for the Emperor, in the correspondence between the Landgrave and Zwingli. Ever since the Marburg Disputation these two had kept up an uninterrupted correspondence, partly carried on in ciphers, which were often changed for the better preservation of the secret; various keys are therefore necessary to decipher the correspondence.

Venice. He appeared before the Venetian Senate, and said: "It is not unknown to the august senate of the Free State, long united in friendship with the Confederacy, what an eye-sore the two republics have been, the great bulwarks of European freedom, to the arbitrary potentates, whose only thought has been their suppression. At the present moment especially, the Emperor begins anew to discover his dangerous designs, and never before has a union been so necessary as now between the States, threatened, in the first instance, by that all-devouring universal monarchy, after which the Emperor is striving. To express their wishes for such a union, to hear opinions upon it, to pave the way for negotiations, his lords of Zurich had sent him a young man, indeed, and of no influence, without state or retinue, (that the Emperor and his friends might know nothing of it,) yet with written credentials." After the Doge had informed himself as to the extent and the objects of this defensive league, of which Collin spoke as "the Christian Burgher-Right," and after requesting some farther light upon it, he gave the assurance in general terms of the good-feeling entertained by the Free State towards Zurich, and the towns of "the Christian Burgher-Right;" at the same time, however, he divulged the fact, that Venice had just concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor. Outside of the Town-hall it was observed to the ambassador that an earlier mission would have had better success. Even yet, it was said, Venice, in the event of a war between the Emperor and the Burgher-towns,* will render them as much assistance as they can. Zwingli mentioned this to the Landgrave, and the Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, on which the latter entreated him to use every means in his power to arrange the matter, and above all, to maintain a good understanding with the Venetians; for they might become a strong drag-chain† on the Emperor, and in this way they might attain the object which, with greater policy, they had not yet reached. "The time and

* The Chancellor of the Republic was commissioned by the Doge and Council to say to Collin, "in the first instance," that Venice would assist the members of "the Christian Burgher-Right" against the Emperor in every danger and emergency, with men, provisions, and money.

† A German Captain had proposed to occupy the Tyrol with eight thousand Germans, and in this manner to close up the Emperor's route from Italy into Germany. Graubund was to send men, Venice artillery, horse, and money, to effect this enterprise.

opportunity are present," said he, "and the moment must not be let slip. Nor is the mad dog (the Emperor), idle, but plays one trick after the other."

About the same time that these negotiations were entered into with Venice, the King of France intimated a wish, through his ambassadors in Switzerland, to hear Zwingli's views as to how a blow might be best dealt to the power of the Emperor; at the same time he signified his desire to join as an ally "the Christian Burgher-Right." The Reformer would please state the conditions under which this might be accomplished. We have already seen with what zeal Zwingli laboured at an earlier period to foster the evangelical movement which manifested itself in France, and we have seen that, chiefly with the hope of winning over the King to the cause of the gospel, he had dedicated to him his principal work, "The Commentary of the True and False Religion." The second French ambassador, also in Switzerland, Lambert Maigret, was devoted to the Protestant doctrine, and on terms of friendship with Zwingli. In such circumstances, it might have been expected that the Reformer would have hastened to accede to the wish of the King, as he had good grounds to hope that a closer connection with the towns of "the Christian Burgher-Right," together with the animosity against the Emperor, might induce Francis I. to decide in favour of the gospel, a result which Zwingli so ardently desired. Yet he appears to have suspected some French wile in this request, for he did not accede to it until he had been the third time applied to. He developed his views in form of a letter from the King to the towns of "the Christian Burgher-Right" in Switzerland. "As the Alliance," the document, among other things, says, "which for a series of years has existed between France and all the Swiss cantons, with the exception of Zurich, was displeasing to the lords of Zurich, for the reason that they feared great danger from it to the freedom of Helvetia, the most Christian King now declares his willingness to form such an Alliance as shall, in no respect, be contrary to the law of God. For the most Christian King desires nothing so much as that the gospel be preserved in its purity. If any party be attacked for its reception or adherence to the gospel, the other shall stand by and defend it; if it, on the other, attacks, the other party is only then under obligation to assist when the

grounds for the attack are recognised as legitimate." In handing over this remarkable document to General Maigret for transmission, he expressed the wish, in an accompanying letter to him, that the Landgrave of Hessen, Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, and some of the South German Free towns, might be permitted to join the League. Both the ambassadors answered the Reformer, on the 27th February 1530, to the effect: "The time is not yet ripe to enter on such far-reaching plans." General Maigret explained himself more distinctly: "As long as the King's sons are held in captivity by the Emperor, no farther negotiations on this head can be gone into, because they would only tend to delay the liberation of the princes." For the rest this statesman continued to cultivate Zwingli's friendship as before, and strove to remove the prejudices which prevailed, particularly in France, against his person and doctrine. He requested the Reformer to propitiate Francis I. for the Reformation, to state "the chief points of his creed as well as his views upon the civil power, and its relation to its subjects," and to present this work to the king. Zwingli fulfilled this request. He composed three months before his death the Treatise, and sent it to the king. But the hopes which he and Maigret entertained for the victory of the gospel in France from this step were not destined to be fulfilled. Francis First's sole object in desiring to unite with the Swiss Free towns was, that they might assist him in the conquest of Lombardy; he was a stranger to that pure enthusiasm with which the Reformer laboured and fought for evangelical truth and the rights of conscience. Indeed, Zwingli had to experience, in other quarters also, to his profound regret, that his efforts did not everywhere meet with that recognition to which they were entitled.

In Switzerland, Berne was particularly averse to the extension of the league of "the Christian Burgher-Right" so far beyond the boundaries of the Confederacy. On this account the government of this canton refused, for a long time, to admit even Strasburg into the union. "*Berne* always sends *bears* to negotiate," Zwingli bitterly complained. Its consent was at last obtained, and the treaty of alliance between the Reformed Swiss towns and Strasburg was confirmed, by oath, in the end of January 1530. On the other hand, Berne obstinately persisted in its refusal to accept the Landgrave of Hessen as a member of "the

Christian Burgher-right," so that he was forced to conclude the alliance with Zurich and Basle alone, which he did in the summer of 1530. But in other quarters also, the extension of the league was counteracted. The aged Erasmus had, by means of a widespread witticism, that the Swiss Reformer intended to introduce democracy under the mantle of the gospel, rendered the princes and aristocratical magistrates of the towns suspicious of the measures which had their origin in Zurich. Favoured by this mistrust, the Papal and Imperial party worked in secret, by threats and promises, against the union of the Evangelicals. Hence, in part, at least, none of the South German Free towns joined the alliance except Constance. Finally, the Supper-contest was destined to operate against the extension of the league. The Protestant German princes, indeed, had combined, after the Diet of Augsburg, February 1530, at Smalkald, in a Protestant defensive league, which had a similar object as "the Christian Burgher-right;" and the members of the Four-towns Confession had been admitted into the Smalkald treaty. On the Landgrave of Hessen, however, expressing his desire that the Swiss Free-towns should take part in it, the condition was also exacted from them that they should sign the union-formula proposed by Bucer, in the sense in which Luther explained it, previous to their admission. At such a price, however, the Swiss refused to purchase it. Zwingli was of the mind that "the Reformed and the Lutherans might cultivate friendship and unity for the sake of their common faith, despite the difference in the doctrine of the Supper, as well as Papists and Lutherans, who stood combined against the Turks; for the league is formed for the defence of the land, the people, common justice, and that *sum of faith and doctrine* in which we are all united. If, however, they (the Lutherans,) be not willing, it is very apparent that this comes from mistrust and arrogancy, and hence we, too, deem it not necessary *to prefer a union with them to truth*. However earnestly Zwingli endeavoured the union of all Protestants for the defence of the preaching of the gospel, and the rights of conscience, the conviction he had acquired in the light of the divine Word was too dear to him to deny it, in but the smallest point, even at such a price. In this manner, the fine idea of this alliance, for which the Reformer, and his friend the Landgrave, were enthusiastically prepossessed,

came, to the deep regret of both, but imperfectly into life, like some plant that too early developes itself. Zwingli had foreboded in a prophetic spirit what calamities would burst upon the various countries of Europe if the confessors of the gospel were not to unite against their common enemies for the preservation of the pearl of their faith. To avert these calamities, to defend the proclamation of the pure Word of God, and to protect freedom of conscience, were the motives by which he was swayed in this department of his labours.

2. RUPTURE BETWEEN THE PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC PARTIES IN SWITZERLAND, AND FIRST CAPPEL WAR.

The alliances which the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland had formed with each other, and with the Emperor, for the suppression of the Reformation, and those which the Reformers had partly concluded, partly attempted, in defence of the rights of conscience, and the free preaching of the Word, made it evident that a dangerous rupture was preparing between the two parties into which the country was rent. Switzerland presented two hostile camps, which rested their extremities on foreign lands, and which sought reciprocally to weaken each other by the withdrawal of adherents. An attitude gradually more resolute and bolder was the result of these separate alliances. While, in the Five places,* every departure from the ancient faith was visited with their punishment, and threatened with that of the Emperor, Zurich and Berne secured all who accepted the gospel in their own protection and that of the towns of the Burgher-Right." The different jurisdictions,† which often crossed one another in the various cantons, tended not a little to increase animosity; everywhere

* The Cantons Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, are, for shortness, called "the Five Places."

† We remind the reader of the lands, possessing themselves in part old rights and privileges, which were governed alternately by the Five Places, and by Zurich and Berne, or sometimes by Zurich alone. Also of the peculiar position of the Abbot of St. Gall, who stood for himself and his subjects in a defensive alliance with Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus. Toggenburg, too, which was under the lordship of the Abbot, occupied a similar relation to Schwyz and Glarus.

points of irritation and hostility presented themselves to both parties down from the Bernese Alps to the Bodensee. In the pleasant valleys of the Bernese upland district, where the cloister of Engelberg possesses particular rights of collation from Unterwalden, the majority of the inhabitants rose in insurrection against the government of Berne, excited by some priests from Uri and Unterwalden, and supported by eight hundred Obwalders, with their banner. The Reformation was abolished, its adherents maltreated, and the Mass introduced. While Zurich prepared to march to the relief of its oppressed ally, hosts of volunteers armed themselves in the Mountain-cantons to support the insurgents. In the meantime, the Mayor of Erlach, at the head of the Bernese troops, had, without foreign assistance, reduced the uplanders to obedience, but the support of the insurrection, on the part of the Oberwaldners, contrary to treaty, was, long after its suppression, threatened with deserved punishment by Zurich and Berne. In Bremgarten, the grey-haired Dean Bullinger, declared to his congregation from the pulpit, in February 1529, "for three and thirty years their pastor, he had taught them, walking in blind darkness, what he had himself learned from blind guides. Might God pardon him his involuntary crime, enlighten him henceforth by His grace to lead the flock committed to him in accordance with the precepts of His Word, whereto he was firmly resolved." The Town-Council, which a year before had come under a formal agreement with "the Five Places" to keep the town in the ancient faith, deposed Bullinger from his office. He sought help in Zurich. His re-settlement in his pastoral office could not be obtained; the community, however, passed a resolution that the new pastor whom they should elect "must preach the Old and New Testaments according to their Divine meaning, and thereby they would leave the matter in God's hand." Gervasius Schuler, who was next elected, and Henry Bullinger, son of the Dean, who soon afterwards was called to the place, fulfilled this promise with joy and blessing to the community. The Reformation gained the ascendant in Bremgarten, in Mellinger, and in several more of the neighbouring communities, Zurich and Berne protecting the Evangelicals, while "The Five Places" threatened apostacy from the old faith with punishment. In Thurgau and in Rheinthal, alternately governed by Zurich and

"The Five Places," the cause of the Reformation gradually advanced. Many of the communes sought from Zurich evangelical pastors. But the governors from "The Five Places," as James Stocker, of Zug in Thurgau, and Melchior Gysler, of Uri in Rheinthal, persecuted the Evangelicals with all severity, punishing them with imprisonment, the rack, stripes, and confiscation. Preachers had their tongues cut, others were beheaded or burned; Bibles and all evangelical books were taken away and destroyed. On the other hand, these papistical governors, who made a boast of their zeal for the ancient faith, committed the most wanton excesses and debauchery, which, without any sense of shame, they attempted to justify, and in this way they gave still greater offence to the Evangelicals, who were led to look from the Word of God for a higher standard of morality in governors than in private individuals. In this position of affairs, "The Five Places" protecting their officers, Zurich and Berne the evangelical people, animosity rose to so great a pitch between the two parties, that it threatened every moment to break out into open hostility. Another apple of discord for the parties was the rich cloister of St. Gall, in its peculiar relation to the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus.* The Abbot of this cloister, as prince of the empire devoted to the Imperial house, was, by reason of his wealth and great influence in Switzerland, one of the most dangerous enemies of the Reformation. Nevertheless, it gained many adherents among his subjects, especially after the beginning of the year 1529, when James Frei, member of the Zurich Council, and a zealous friend of the Reformation, was appointed lieutenant of the country. The doctrine of the anti-Scriptural character of spiritual supremacy, proclaimed by Zwingli with all emphasis, met with a hearty reception, not only from the majority of the Abbot's subjects, but also from many of the brothers. The Abbot, Francis von Geissberg, who lay sick of the dropsy, found himself quite unable to offer any opposition to the progress of the Reformation, and had himself hastily carried

* The Abbot had concluded a defensive alliance with the above-named cantons for his whole possessions, in which they engaged to defend him and his monastery, as well as his subjects, in all their rights and liberties. In exercise of their right, and in conformity with their engagement, the four states sent every two years a lieutenant to Wyl, who was a member of the secret Council of the Abbot, and immediately followed him in rank.

to his fortified castle at Roshach, where alone he considered himself safe. Four days afterwards, Burgomaster Vadian took possession of the cathedral, from which he ordered the images to be removed; the treasures of the cloister the monks had carried off to Einsiedeln. The Abbot died at Roshach, on the 21st March; his death, however, was concealed for some time, until the monks succeeded, in an illegal manner, indeed, in electing a successor. Kilian German, descendant of an honourable family in Toggenburg, a shrewd and clever monk, hitherto the great steward of the cloister had this perilous dignity conferred upon him. Soon after the election, he succeeded in obtaining the recognition of Schwyz and Lucerne, and the Pope's confirmation of his appointment, while from Austria he received the assurance of powerful support for the maintenance of his position. Upon this, he immediately declared, in plain terms, that he would not rest satisfied till he and his convent were again in possession of their rights, the images replaced in the church, and the Mass again celebrated within its walls. Zurich, on the other hand, requested, at Zwingli's advice, which was asked and given, that Kilian should first of all establish, by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that monkery is good and well-pleasing in the sight of God, else that he should lay aside the cowl, and abandon monkery; as abbot, Zurich would never acknowledge him, since as protecting power, it had undertaken the duty of defending the Christian people in the maintenance of their rights. This state, accordingly, would never allow the spiritual yoke to be again pressed on the household of God: "Hence," says Zwingli on this opinion, delivered by him, "either our lords with their Christian fellow-citizens of St. Gall, and all the people of God who have pledged their lives and property to our lords, that the Word of God shall be administered, desist, and become perjured to their oaths, or the Abbot Kilian desists." While Zurich and St. Gall pressed with all their power for the dissolution of the cloister, and the land's-lieutenant Frei secured the subjects of the cloister in the liberties and institutions which the Zurich country people enjoyed, the Abbot Kilian took his measures in secret, with the help of "The Five Places" and Austria, to recover his rights and dignity. The affair therefore presented a very embarrassing aspect.

At length, Garter, a district under the superiority of Schwyz and Glarus, became the occasion of raising the animosity between Schwyz and Zurich to a formal outbreak of hostilities. The Reformation had manifested itself in some communities of this district in iconoclastic acts. The Schwyzers, accordingly, menaced their subjects with war and with punishment for these acts of violence, and ordered the images to be again set up, and the Mass to be re-established. The menaced sought help in Zurich. Zurich assured them of protection, in so far as they should be assailed on the ground of their evangelical faith.

While embarrassments thus increased, and animosity between the parties rose to such a pitch of violence, the friends of the Reformation made a last attempt to settle disputes on an amicable foot, and to accomplish a reconciliation with their adversaries. In a diet, (21st April 1529,) which was held in Zurich without "The Five Places," it was resolved to call upon these cantons, through an embassy, to withdraw from their alliance with Austria, to desist from persecuting the Evangelicals, and to prohibit the invectives that were so shamefully uttered among their subjects against the evangelical members of the Confederacy. "United in *one* faith in Christ, our worthy ancestors maintained freedom between man and man against every foe. The Evangelicals have never fallen from this faith, but they wish it renewed in its ancient purity and power. Why do you ally yourselves against us, your old and tried Confederates, with Austria, the hereditary enemy of Switzerland, and malign us as heretics and infidels?" The magistracies of "The Five Places" (the deputies were only allowed a hearing before the Councils in Schwyz,) answered these well-meant representations haughtily, and with contumelious expressions. "Only no preaching," they shouted to the speaking deputy in Zug. In Uri: "We might wish the new faith eternally buried." In Lucerne: "Your seditious parsons undermine the faith as erst in paradise the serpent swung his folds round Adam and Eve. We will preserve our children and children's children from such poison." In Stans: "We'll have nothing more to do with the new sect, and sha'nt meet them at the Diet." In Sarnen: "We and the other Wald towns are the true old Confederates who first took you into the union, and now, verily, you mean to be our masters, and oppress us. But the Emperor,

France, Savoy, and our lord of Musso will know to hinder you." The ambassadors saw, on the house of the Town-Clerk, a great gallows painted, on which the arms of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg were suspended. Thus the attempted reconciliation was put away by "The Five Places," with a rude and overbearing arrogance, deeply wounding to the feelings of the evangelical party.

It was not reverence to the faith of their forefathers, and attachment to old customs, which inclined them to this course of procedure, but it was the general corruption of manners in high and low, engendered by the taking of pensions and donations from foreign princes, and the baneful participation in mercenary warfare.* It was because the preaching of the pure Word of God revealed this corruption in light, and rebuked it with godly seriousness; it was because the Reformers sought to dry up the sources of it by the total prohibition of foreign pensions, and of mercenary warfare; that the leaders of the people were animated with such bitter hostility to the Reformation in the old cantons.

In the opinion of the Reformer, the Protestant towns had not only the right, but the duty was imposed upon them of interfering to prevent these crying evils, and of compelling "The Five Places," even with force of arms, to abolish the pensions and mercenary wars, by which their native country was brought to the verge of destruction, to permit within their territories the free preaching of the Word of God, which is given to all men for salvation, and to leave faith in the gospel unpunished. "The Confederacy," he writes, "is like one town or community. Now if an individual in a community in which all the citizens enjoy equal liberty and equal rights, grossly sin, the others must punish him for it, else they make themselves partakers of his sin, and God will punish them for it as well as the offender. Since, then, the procedure of "The Five Places" is so blasphemous and so ruinous to the whole honourable Confederacy, we must punish them for it, or we have to fear that we shall be extirpated with

* The licentiousness which then prevailed among mercenary soldiers, exercised a most corruptive influence on the morals of the people, not only in Switzerland, but also in Germany. In 1551 the German states handed in a complaint to Maximilian II., that the mercenaries, on returning from foreign service, were guilty of the greatest enormities.

them, we, their fellow-citizens, brethren, and Confederates, being guilty with them. Let it not be objected, they have their own power, their own right, their own government; away with such an objection, when they employ their power in the suppression of the gospel, and the maltreatment of their brethren. Of the twelve tribes in Israel, each had its own princes and its own rights. But when, in the tribe of Benjamin, that monstrous iniquity was perpetrated on the Levite, Judges xix. xx., and this tribe did not punish the evil-doers, and the other tribes were remiss in interfering, God visited them all in punitive justice. The army of the twelve tribes was twice beaten by the Benjamites, and lost forty thousand men; it again slew five-and-twenty thousand Benjamites. When rude arrogance reaches such a pitch, as we see is the case in the inhabitants of 'The Five Places,' it cannot be otherwise tamed but by force. By mildness and indulgence, these people will just as little be amended as the wolf will be hindered by the meekness of the lamb from tearing it in pieces. Since they will neither repent nor obey God, nor listen to His Word, but, on the contrary, punish those who proclaim His Word, and those who receive it, there is no other remedy but to put them right by the strong hand."

Zwingli's idea was that the evangelical towns should quickly and resolutely, but according to a well-conceived plan, invade the territory of the five cantons, from different quarters at once, with their overwhelming force in artillery and men, so that these might speedily be convinced that all resistance was useless, and that it would only lead to their destruction. He thought that the prohibition of foreign pensions and of mercenary warfare, as well as the liberty to preach the Word of God, and to accept it as the directory for faith and practice, might be gained for the inhabitants of "The Five Places" by a bloodless campaign. The glowing zeal which filled the Saviour of the world, when He purified His Father's house from the doings of covetousness with the whip of cords, inspired also the Reformer to remove the disturbers of the pure worship of God from the valleys of his native land with force, that under the preaching of the gospel, and faith in Christ, it might once more become a dwelling-place for the glory of the Most High. "We have ere this helped many a worldly lord to land and men. Let us now, in the name of

God, help our Lord Jesus Christ to His sovereignty in our land. But, take up the matter boldly and in a Christian spirit." Such was his watchword. The wretched condition which a part of his native country was in, where the good found no protection, the bad no punishment, was intolerable to him. In this disposition of mind, he wrote to his friends in Berne, who warned him of war: "Be steadfast, and be not afraid of war; for the peace which some impress upon us is war, and the war I wish is peace. We thirst for no man's blood, and seek no personal interest of our own; our object is to tame these upstart tyrants who rise against God and suppress His Word, and to tear their usurped power from their grasp. If this is not done, neither evangelical truth nor her heralds and followers are safe. We have no cruel thoughts; what we do is with a paternal and benevolent purpose. We wish to save some who, led away by the wicked, will perish in their ignorance. The liberty of preaching the gospel, and of believing in it, I should wish alone to conquer. I pray you only put confidence in me. With God's help I shall abide worthy of it"

While the contemptuous and offensive answers returned by "The Five Places" excited the most indignant feelings in Zurich, events immediately intervened thereon which stirred up the flame of war, already glowing strongly under the embers into a complete outburst. The pastor of a congregation in Zurich, James Kaiser,* called Schlossar, had received a call to the parish of Oberkirch, in Garter, and intended to obey it in Martinmas 1529. Meanwhile, he was in the habit of repairing as often as he conveniently could to Oberkirch, where the Reformation had found an entrance, to strengthen this congregation in the faith, by his preaching of the Word. Upon one of these journeys he was suddenly fallen upon in a wood near Utnach, by six men, bound and carried away to Schwyz. This infamous surprise and attack on the public highway were made at the orders of the Schwyzer governors in Utnach, in obedience to the instructions sent to all officers of "The Five Places," "to take prisoners, and deliver over to the magistracy, all preachers and adherents of the new doctrine." Zurich

* Kaiser was born at Utnach. As parson in the island of Ufenau, he had preached with great zeal against the images, and thereby incurred the vehement hatred of the Schwyzers.

immediately sent a deputy to Schwyz, with an emphatic remonstrance in favour of the guiltless preacher of the Word, and the request that he should be set at liberty. Glarus, which, along with Schwyz, governed the Garter lands, demanded, in accordance with law and right, that the prisoner should be tried before the courts of justice in Garter. But all intervention in behalf of the unhappy prisoner was fruitless. The authorities in Schwyz condemned him as a heretic to death, by fire, which he was forthwith to suffer. The unfortunate witness for the truth, who, on hearing the sentence of death pronounced against him, was taken by surprise, exhibiting pusillanimity and weeping loudly, was soon thereafter so strengthened by the grace of God that he went joyfully to the stake, and praised the Lord Jesus Christ, in the midst of the flames, that He had deemed him worthy of dying for the sake of His holy gospel. "Tell in Zurich how he thanked us," cried a Schwyz councillor with insulting brutality to treasurer Edlebach, who had brought the mediation for the unhappy man. "If you had had the interests of the parsons as much at heart," wrote the Schwyz Council to that of Zurich, "as you describe in your letter to us, you would have kept him with you, and not have left him to our people. This would have been most agreeable to us, and it would have been better for him."

Seven days after the martyrdom of this Protestant clergyman, certain of the Reforming party brought the intelligence to Zurich from "the Free Offices" that the Unterwaldners who, on account of their support of the insurgents in the Bernese upland, had been excluded for the duration of one "office" from the government of the subject-lands, were sending a party of armed men to escort a governor to Baden. At the same time, they had sworn "to take vengeance for the burning of the idols on the Evangelicals." At the same moment, Zurich learned that the Austrian officials, on the Swiss frontier, were enlisting men, and arming for an irruption. Under the impression produced by these various reports, the Zurich Council, on the 3d of June, resolved on war, and proclaimed it, in the first instance, against Schwyz. "We have received," wrote Zurich to Schwyz, "your haughty and contemptuous letter, and have understood it. You reproach us with not keeping the treaties; we imagine they have been better kept on our part than by you. You have persecuted or delivered up

to enemies, or yourselves martyred and slain, many an honest man, because he gave God the glory, and joyfully confessed his faith. You have abused, reviled, and maltreated our people who, by God's grace, are pious, worthy Christians, and come of an honest stock. A holy priest, resident in our town, and under our protection, you have fallen upon outside of your jurisdiction, carried off, and, for the Word of God's sake, and to God's high displeasure and contempt of us, have insolently, and in defiance of law, condemned to burning. Since, therefore, we see that neither law nor justice have place among you, we resolve, for the salvation and maintenance of Divine truth, for His and our own honour, to punish, according to the will of God, such arrogance, violence, and evil-doing, and shall, as far as God's grace and strength permit us, not only take vengeance for the same in act, but we shall warn you, therefore, and will thus maintain our honour. You will have it so, and have driven us to this by your violent procedure." Resolute and deliberate action on the part of the Zurich government testified to the fact that they were serious in this declaration of hostilities. The active force was immediately called out, distributed and employed, according to a well-conceived plan of war. Five hundred men, under Ulrich Stoll, marched out against "the Free Offices," and, strengthened by a hundred Bremgarten burghers, occupied the cloister of Muri, in order to prevent the approach of the governor from Unterwalden. Four hundred men, under the command of Hans Escher, were posted at the eastern end of the Lake of Zurich, to observe Schwyz, the same number, under James Werdmueller, at Rueti, with the design of encouraging the Evangelicals of Toggenberg, Garter, and Glarus to join them. The principal body, consisting of four thousand picked warriors, fully armed, and well furnished with artillery and provisions, marched, on the first intelligence that "the Five Places" were arming in full force, and had written to Austria, on Cappel. Zwingli, armed with his halberd,* rode with the main body; along with him Francis Zingg, and the Comthur Schmidt, who had been appointed by the Council field preacher. At the same time, Rudolf Lavater, governor of Kyburg, was

* The Swiss field-chaplains carried a weapon on service up till the most recent time. Zwingli's halberd, which he had already used in the battle of Marignano, had no other significance than the later side-weapon of the field preacher.

instructed to march against Wyl with five hundred men, who were assigned to him for this purpose, to take prisoner the Abbot of Kilian,* to occupy for Zurich Thurgau and Rheinthal, and to protect the frontier against Austria. With such a display of circumspection and resolution, the Zurich Council acted quite in the sense of Zwingli, who, in all likelihood, had drawn out the plan of war.†

Zurich justified these steps in a document which it caused to be printed. It is said in this, among other things: "It is well known to all, how 'The Five Places' have for years insulted, reviled, despised, injured, oppressed, and attacked us in many respects. Yet we have considered what the Lord Jesus Christ suffered for our sakes, and for God's glory have patiently borne and submitted to these, in the hope that an amendment might take place. Measures being now, however, so plainly taken for the suppression of the gospel, we will rather suffer death itself than allow a course of procedure so shameful before God and all the world to continue." After recounting their grievances, they solemnly deny that they have taken up arms to rob, to burn, or to shed blood, but to punish the authors of the disorders and violence complained of in "The Five Places." "If, however, we be met with opposition, we shall, with the help of Almighty God, stake our all upon it, and shall shew to the present and future times what it is to break good faith and solemn treaties, and that the highest God's service is to live a godly life, and to protect justice between man and man, with self-sacrifice. May the gracious Lord overrule all, for whose glory we expose ourselves to these dangers and costs, in the hope that He will defend his own people with His power and favour, as in the days of old."

Courage, resolution, and a joyful readiness to shed their blood in the defence of evangelic truth and Christian order in their

* The Abbot Kilian received intelligence of this design against him, and fled in all haste to Suabia.

† We have yet two plans of war from Zwingli's pen, which testify his accurate knowledge of the military tactics of the period, as well as that his object was to bring about, by a rapid and general development of all the forces at command, as speedy and bloodless a decision as possible. "When, however, nothing remains but to fight gallantly, or to deny God and His Word, let the good town of Zurich rather lose money, blood, life, than apostatise from acknowledged truth."

native land, filled the breasts of the Zurich warriors. On the evening of the 9th of June, they encamped near Cappel, and sent the next morning their declaration of war to the army of "The Five Places" assembled at Zug. This declaration, as well as the report of the setting out of the Zurich host, had caused, in inner Switzerland, the men capable of bearing arms to be summoned to their standards. Zug, which saw itself first threatened, anxiously begged for help from the other places. Volunteers hasted thither first of all, then followed the banners of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. Lucerne had marched against "the Free Offices." Zurich wished the war begun immediately on its declaration. Close after the departure of the trumpeter with the declaration, William Toenig, leader of the vanguard, marshalled his men for attack, and was on the point of leading them across the boundary, when the Landamman Æbli of Glarus, rode from Baar up the hill, and pressingly begged a hearing before they advanced farther. A halt was ordered, and the leaders approached the Amman to learn his request. "The Five Places," said he, "are armed; but it is a misery to them that blood is about to be shed. I entreat you for a delay of a few hours, for I know that the messengers of our Confederates are set out from all quarters to negotiate a piece. Is a peace, by which one can live according to the gospel, not possible between those who have often stood man to man against the common foe? Honourable dear lords of Zurich, for God's sake prevent the division and ruin of the Confederacy." Æbli's speech, and the respect in which he was held by many, as a friend of the gospel, and an enemy of mercenaryism, had the effect of inducing the leaders to despatch couriers to Zurich for instructions as to how they should act. But Zwingli went up to Æbli, with the words, "Godfather Amman,* you will have to give answer to God for this mediation. Because the enemy are in our power and unarmed, they give us fair words. You believe them and mediate. Afterwards, when they are armed, they will not spare us, and then there will

* While parson of Glarus, Zwingli had become god-father of the Landamman. At this time, probably, the custom which still exists in Graubund was generally prevalent in Switzerland, of the pastor's being god-father to the parents of all the children he baptises; for Zwingli had in Zurich many god-fathers in families in which he could hardly have stood as god-father in baptism.

be none to mediate." The Landamman replied: "My dear God-father, I trust in God that good will come of it; let us act always for the best."

The position which Berne and some of the other allies of Zurich took up in this campaign, exercised, for the progress and result of the mediation, an influence important indeed, but altogether paralysing as to any thorough and honourable settlement of affairs. The Reformation had, in Berne, among the nobility, and in isolated districts among the country people, still many concealed enemies, who made their influence even secretly felt in the Council. "We are," Haller wrote to Zwingli, "in our government as rotten as ever, and it is much to be feared that in the new election to the Great and Little Councils just approaching those who have shewn themselves hostile to the Word of God will all come to the surface of the water again. Think of us only as if we could effect no good." Thus it happened that the usually so *belligerent* Berne sent one message of *peace* after another to Zurich; nay, went so far as to inculcate upon this state the lesson that "faith is not to be implanted by spears and halberds."* When Zurich had at length resolved on war, called upon the allies for aid, and Treasurer Edlebach, in commission of his government, had requested the Bernese deputies in Lenzburg to give orders for their force to advance into "the Free Offices," and join the Zurich host, under Ulrich Stoll, they replied, "They had no instructions as to marching either to Zurich or Muri. If the Zurichers had begun the war without them, they might finish it without them." Upon another pressing summons which Zurich made in writing, and sent by deputies to Berne, the Great Council of the canton gave the following answer: "We pray, we remind and exhort you, that you do not overstep, with your host and banner, the boundaries of your own territory, and that you attack none. If you yourselves be first attacked, or are injured either in land or people, we shall not abandon you. We have in haste called a Diet of all the Confederates to meet at Aarau. If 'The Five Places' give satisfaction for libels and vituperations, renounce the alliance with

* Just as this observation in itself is, it did not come well from the mouth of the Bernese government of the time, who had paid very little attention to it, at the introduction of the Reformation in their own territory, and in Wadtland.

Austria, and punish Dr. Murner, we are inclined to peace. If you, however, or 'the Five Places,' do not hold yourselves as we do, we shall apply force to you and them." With this object Berne enrolled 5000 men, and sent them, under Mayor von Diessbach, an enemy of Manuel's,* to Aarau and Lenzburg. They were joined by the auxiliaries sought by Zurich from Basle, Muehlhausen, and Biel, while the Glarner occupied Garterland, and declared themselves neutral. Three hundred well armed men from St. Gall, and twelve hundred Thurgauers marched to Cappel to strengthen the Zurichers. On the other hand, two thousand Wallisers had marched to the aid of "The Five Places." Upon the whole the warlike force which took the field on both sides is given at 30,000 men.

As Landamman Æbli predicted, negotiators of peace soon arrived in Zurich from Appenzell, Graubund, Freiburg, and Solothurn. Even from Strasburg the town-sheriff, James Sturm, came, not alone as a messenger of peace, but also in the name of his native city, bringing the grateful intelligence to the Zurichers, "that the inhabitants of Strasburg will not suffer them to want either for money or corn, and, in case of need, would stand by them with their property and lives to the last." The Council of Zurich answered the assembled host of warriors at Cappel, in reply to their question how they were to act in respect of Æbli's request, by praying them in the meantime to suspend all hostilities, and not to cross the frontier. "The deputies," the Council wrote, "will be sent to the Diet for negotiating peace, because we entertain good hopes that through the mediation of pious and upright men, an honourable and godly peace will be concluded. The decision, however, rests with the army, for according to ancient practice Zurich is there where her banner waves." For this reason the Council requested the army to forward their farther resolutions to the Zurich deputies at the Diet in Aarau. Zwingli, who, in the event of any fatality to himself, had committed to writing a statement of the object of the war, which he intrusted to confidential men, prescribed, in name of the army,

* Nicolas Manuel deserved well of the Reformation in Berne, for his great merits as a satirical poet. See "Nicolas Manuel. Life and Works of a Painter, Poet, Warrior, Statesman, and Reformer of the Sixteenth Century, communicated by Gruenoisen." Stuttgart, 1837.

the following conditions of peace: "1. That the Word of God of the Old and New Testaments be allowed to be freely preached through the whole Confederacy, and that all alliances concluded against it be dissolved, and declared null and void; on the other hand, that none be compelled to abolish the Mass, images, and other ceremonies; for the Word of God will undoubtedly blow away such dust. 2. That through the whole Confederacy the receipt of pensions,* hires, and donations from foreign masters be forbidden, and that all bind themselves to the observance of this prohibition by oath. 3. That the authors of the pension system, and the distributors of annuities or donatives in 'the Five Places,' be punished in person and property, on the ground that they are the originators of the present dissensions. 4. That 'the Five Places' bear the expenses of the war, and that Schwyz in particular pay down one thousand florins to the children of the martyred Kaiser." In his letter to the Zurich Council, with which Zwingli accompanied these conditions of peace, approved by the War Congregation, the Reformer thus expresses himself: "I am extremely anxious that the proposals in question may not be treated with levity or with carelessness. In order in some measure to meet the growing corruption of the times, and to hold the godly and believing people to the Word of God, I have been compelled, both by word and deed, to press for decisive measures, but I expressed to the Council that when I began to be warlike in my sermons they might be pleased to give no heed to it, for my wish neither was war nor bloodshed, but the suppression of the pensions, and of all injustice. Now, however, that it has come, in the course of God's providence, to an outbreak, I trust in God that it will fall out to His own glory, and to the honour of Zurich. I only fear that you may be deceived by the apolo-

* The pensions were, in the then Swiss relations, nothing else but the Judas-pay with which neighbouring princes rewarded, under this name, influential men for the game of treachery they played against the interests of their country. To what a frightful pitch this mischief had reached appears from a revelation made by the French ambassador in Switzerland. His king had sent to this country, from 1512 to 1531, 1,133,547 crowns of gold, to be applied alone in pensions, a sum which, in the present relations of money, may be quadrupled. As the preaching of the gospel had of necessity to combat this atrocious system, all the pensioners were enemies of it. "All," says Zwingli, "but pensioners are willing that the Word of God should be preached."

getic words and flatteries of our enemies, and induced to enter into a peace worse than war itself. When I press for harsh measures, I do it solely to terrify the pensioners, that they may the sooner yield, otherwise I am very well disposed to a clemency which is with God, as I hope you are well aware. Wherefore, dear gracious lords, be courageous and firm, and so we shall, with God's help, lift the waggon out of the ditch. Our Confederates of Berne are faithful to the principle of freedom in matters of faith, and insist that the alliance with Austria be broken off. Let us therefore boldly combat the pensioners, and we shall thus arrive at unity of faith and government, and shall have waged a better war than ever was waged. Entertain no anxiety on our account, for our men are obedient and well-behaved, friendly and faithful to one another. Some "black horses," indeed, are an exception, for they are as black here as in Zurich. Yet they shall, by God's grace, nowhere drag the waggon but where the honour and weal of the town of Zurich demand it. Therefore, let us occupy here our threatening warlike position, but be ye wise, brave, and steadfast, and so we shall, with God's help, attain to unity, and conclude an honourable peace. I hope God will once more set up our Confederacy, and this He will do if you only maintain a resolute attitude against the pensions, for you see how the gospel is gaining the upper hand everywhere, but the pensions destroy everything. Wherefore be a wall of brass against this corruption." He communicated to the leaders of the different companies instructions how to act in particular circumstances which might arise, with the same clear and comprehensive glance, and in the same cautious spirit with which he pointed out to the Council its procedure, while the ardent zeal of an apostle glowed within his bosom. The extension of the gospel, and the implantation and cultivation of Christian morality and discipline were the objects of his heart's desire. Whoever knows the fidelity with which Zwingli devoted his great intellectual powers and rich acquirements to the service of his Lord, will not blame him that he attempted too much, or more than a single man was able to perform. They will rather admire in him the divine wisdom, uniting in one man varied and lofty gifts for great and glorious purposes, just as on the same

Swiss mountain, whose summit is clothed with perpetual snow, we see the vine blossoms blowing and the fiery wine ripening.

The business of peace was introduced at the Diet in Aarau with an extension of the truce. The deputies of "The Five Places" replied to Zurich's grievances with whining complaints, that they were the innocent victims of persecution, who had been attacked contrary to all right. Once more Zwingli wrote to the Council: "I note well how matters stand. Now they make few speeches, pray and beg, for none can do these things better than such people. Let us only quit the field, however, and in one short month they will return and attack us. Act with vigour, I beseech you, in the first instance, do not throw away our advantages, and accept only an honourable peace, and one that will be fruitful of good results. For God's sake do something brave. By my life I will not mislead you, nor yield an inch myself." As the decision lay with the army, the umpires, to be nearer the camps, removed to Steinhausen in the canton of Zug. Here the negotiations were resumed and continued.

The army throughout its several companies was favourable to peace, on the conditions set down by Zwingli. In the camp of the Zurichers, the greatest order prevailed. Zwingli preached every day, or if not, Comthur Schmidt, or Francis Zingg, or another clergyman. There was prayer both before and after meals. Not a curse nor a quarrel was to be heard in the camp. Strumpets, who at this time followed the armies in shoals, were sent away as soon as they shewed themselves. There were no dice, cards, nor any games which might occasion wrangling; but national songs were sung, and the men exercised themselves in leaping and putting the stone. Zwingli's spirit governed the whole host, and all were animated with the desire (uni-fervent, as Bernhard Weiss expresses himself,) to overcome and put down the pensioners, who had brought such mischiefs to their country. The Bernese warriors also participated in the wish that an end might be put to the nuisance of pensions: "Let any one consult your army," said Zwingli to a Bernese officer, "I know that your people as well as ours abhor the pensioning." Even in the camp of "The Five Places," Landamman Æbli was often applied to and in private, by the common soldiers, to get prohibition of the pensions made an article of the peace, for many were dis-

gusted at the overbearing manners of these upstarts, who so quickly enriched themselves at the expense of the common weal. Nor was there any animosity against the Zurichers here amongst the common men. They were in great want, while the latter had everything in abundance. Once, accordingly, a party of them crossed their outposts, that they might be taken prisoners by the Zurichers. They were taken, carried before a captain, liberally supplied with bread, and ordered to repass the frontier. One day some men from Waldstadt brought a vessel of milk, and placed it on the boundary line, calling out to the Zurichers: "We have good milk here, but nothing to break into it." The latter then brought some bread, and so the soldiers of the two hosts eat, laughing to each other, out of the same pail. On one happening to take a piece of bread lying by his opponent, the other usually struck him, jocularly, with his spoon, saying: "You dare not cross the boundary." The Town-Sheriff, James Sturm, of Strasburg, who was standing by, and a witness of the scene, said: "You Swiss are a strange people; although you are by the ears, you cannot forget your old friendship, and become speedily the best of friends."

In this disposition of the warriors of both armies, there seemed every prospect of negotiating an honourable peace, such as Zwingli with all his heart desired. The majority of the captains, however, and leaders, were animated with quite another spirit. Especially in respect of the pensions, they were desirous of a very different issue to the negotiations. In the Zurich camp itself, there were some of the leaders, (Zwingli calls them "the black horses,") who having enriched themselves by princely largesses, ardently desired the removal in Zurich of the prohibition against the pensions also; held in check by Zwingli's powerful influence, they were, however, obliged, for the present, to desist from their schemes. But matters wore a worse aspect among the Bernese in reference to this point, so that even Nicolas Manuel was forced to declare, at a meeting of the Zurich captains, that for Zwingli's demand, "abolition of the pensions by 'the Five Places,'" no support could be expected from Berne. On the other hand, the leaders of the troops of "The Five Places" found all the greater support amongst their partisans in the Zurich and Bernese camps. "It was generally known," says

Bullinger, "that the pensioners defended one another with zeal, and had rather seen the whole country brought to the verge of ruin than that a hair on the head of one of their party had been touched." This firmly united party sought, by every means of secret intrigue and base calumny, to undermine Zwingli's reputation, and to weaken his influence. "Treachery surrounds me on every side," writes the Reformer to Ambrosius Blaarer, "and if I escape it now, I have alone to thank the Almighty for my preservation, for all the wicked have conspired against me." He gives expression to his cares and the wishes of his heart in the following hymn, which he then composed :—

"Lord raise the car
From out the ditch of war;
Or black as night
Will be our plight.
Our evils flow
From those that sow
Base treachery;
Who Thee despise,
And 'gainst Thee rise
Insolently.

"Lord shake off those
That are Thy foes;
But Thine own sheep,
Guide Thou from off the steep
To pastures wide;
Within Thy fold may they abide,
Who Thy laws keep.

"Ordain that wrath
No longer burn;
That we to truth's old path
Again return.
These armies then shall raise
United praise,
And ever sing
To Thee Eternal King."

It has been erroneously stated by some of Zwingli's biographers, that the Reformer composed this hymn *after* the peace of Cappel. Bullinger distinctly mentions that it was composed while the negotiations were going on. He set the hymn to music, as well as those we have already communicated; and it was sung and played in princely courts, and in towns far and near.

The unwearied efforts of the negotiators were crowned with success; and a treaty of peace was drawn up, which was accepted and signed by the leaders of the army, on the 24th of June 1530. The chief points in it were: "As faith cannot be implanted by force, no compulsion shall be exercised against 'The Five Places' and their people in this respect. Neither party shall attack or punish the other on account of their faith. In the common lordships, those who abolished the Mass, removed or burned the images, shall not be punished. In future, the majority shall decide as to the abolition or retention of the Mass, and other rites. There shall be no insolent individuals sent, none but men of honour and integrity shall be into these lordships. The alliance with Austria having been concluded solely on the ground of religion, it shall be dissolved, and the papers cancelled. All maledictions and invectives on either side are forbidden, and will be punished. 'The Five Places' pay the war-costs, according to an estimate to be made by the negotiators, and Schwyz gives a compensation to the children of Kaiser, the pastor who was burned. If 'The Five Places' refuse to pay the war-expenses, the towns may close their markets against them. It is recommended to 'The Five Places' to abolish the pensions and mercenary service."

The impression made upon the two parties by this peace was very different. Berne hailed it with enthusiastic acclamations, and Zurich, too, celebrated its festivities of joy, as the army returned within the walls of the town, without having shed a drop of blood; "The Five Places" quitted the field, embittered, and in no respect improved. Zwingli was not unconscious of the important results obtained by the bloodless campaign. In this sense, he wrote to Conrad Sam, pastor at Ulm, 30th June: "We have brought home with us a peace, which is, as I hope, honourable; for we have not marched out to shed blood. Notwithstanding, we have sent our adversaries home with a wet cloth about them. First of all, let me tell you that their letter of alliance with Austria was cut in pieces before my eyes by Landammann Aebli. Greet for me all believers. God has again shown that the lofty ones of this earth can accomplish nothing against Him." Another feeling, however, oppressed him, when he thought of the intrigues and profligacy of the pensioners, which had made themselves felt in an important degree in this

expedition. "He was wont," as Myconius informs us, to say, "he had encountered in this campaign more baseness of heart and intriguing than he had ever met with in his personal experience during his whole life, or had ever read of." In his eyes, it appeared that to have roused these wicked and profligate men without taking from them their sting, was a signal blunder which Zurich would yet bitterly bewail. Looking at the peace from this point of view, he expressed himself thus in one of his sermons: "*The peace of Cappel will have this result, that we shall not long have to fold our hands idly over our heads.*"

3. ZWINGLI'S REFORMING LABOURS IN THE LATTER YEARS OF HIS LIFE.

Much as the cause of civil liberty, and a better ordering of the social relations of his native country, occupied Zwingli in the later years of his life, he yet never for a moment lost sight of the grand work he had to perform, as minister of the gospel, and theologian. Were we only acquainted with the fact that, from 1529 till the summer of 1531, he composed and published his two Commentaries on the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, his profound Treatise on the Providence of God, and the two Confessions of Faith, addressed to Charles V. and Francis I., we should have every reason to admire his zeal and faithfulness in the study of the sacred record, in unfolding the Divine truths contained within its pages, and pressing them on the heart and conscience of the church and the world. But we know also that he never ceased his activity, up to the last hours of his life, in the spread of the Reformation to distant lands, and in the introduction and administration of evangelical order and discipline within the Reformed Church of his own. From Zurich as a centre the gospel continued to add to the number of its adherents, especially after freedom of conscience had been guaranteed by the peace of Cappel. In the wealthy cloister of Wettingen on the Limmat, which, on account of its vicinity to Zurich, lay more than any other within the influence of the powerful current of the Reformation, the Abbot George Mueller, and the whole cloister, with the exception of two monks, proclaimed their acceptance of the

gospel. They shaved one the other their beards, changed the dress of their order for the costume of the country, listened devoutly to the sermons which Sebastian Bertli of Zurich delivered to them, and shortly thereafter they proclaimed the gospel themselves, and sang German Psalms. The cloister ceased to be a house of gambling, drunkenness, and debauchery; it was soon after turned into a school. The Comthur, Albrecht von Muelinen, in Hitzkirch, mentions to Zwingli, on the 3d August, that the good people there had resolved a second time, with a majority, that they would alone hear the preaching of the pure Word of God, of the Old and New Testaments, without any addition, and begged the Reformer to send them an evangelical preacher. Here likewise the Reformation found an entrance in spite of the threats of Lucerne. In the Italian Provinces also, beyond the Alps, a better day appeared to be dawning since 1530. James Werdmueller was sent by the government of Zurich, in the exercise of their rights, as governor to Locarno, with instructions "to act in a Christian spirit, and, in regard to the Word of God, to observe the orders given." He found a Carmelite monk in Locarno, who read much in the New Testament, and who from henceforth resolved only to preach from Paul's Epistles. Werdmueller put Zwingli's writings into his hands, and had reason to hope that, with the aid of this monk, he would gain the whole bailliwick to the gospel. A Papistical historian of the time describes the activity of Zwingli and his friends in the following words: "A set of wretched disturbers of the peace burst into the Five cantons, and murdered souls, by spreading abroad their songs, tracts, and little testaments, telling the people they might learn the truth itself from these, and one did not require any more to believe what the priests said."

Some scattered signs, favourable to the Reformation among the people of "The Five Places," induced Zwingli once more to make a resolute attack upon the stronghold of the Papacy in old Switzerland, and, if possible, to carry evangelical truth here to victory. To this end the principal ministers of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg, assembled in Zwingli's house, at Zurich, on the 5th September 1530, and resolved to address a letter, drawn up by Zwingli, and signed by all present, to all the Councils and congregations in question, in which, among other things, it is said :

"You know, pious, gracious, and dear sirs, how, by union, small things become great, and how, by dissension, all things go to wreck and ruin. Discord and strife arise from selfishness, which itself is a native propensity of the human heart, and which is only then extinguished within us, when God, by His Word and Spirit, implants in our souls love to the commonwealth. Therefore, gracious and dearly beloved sirs, despise not our petition, but let the Word of God be freely preached among you, and let God walk among you. Your godly ancestors have never set themselves above the Word of God, nor forbidden their pastors to preach the same, nor commanded them to teach to the people the Popish inventions of purgatory, image-worship, and absolution, as is now done. By these means, however, poor souls are turned from the true well of salvation, from the living God, and from the mercy vouchsafed to us in Christ, to a service highly displeasing to God, and to hopes that afford us no comfort in the hour of trial. O! then, let the Word of God be freely preached, and direct your walk and conversation according to its Divine precepts, as your forefathers have done; then will union and strength flourish again amongst us. Two drops of silver unite as soon as that which separates them is removed. Remove you too, then, that which divides us and our towns, namely, the prohibition of God's Holy Word; then the Almighty will make us one as our fathers were one. Then your native country will be as of yore, an asylum for all the persecuted saints, and, when you have finished your journey through this vale of tears, a terror to evil-doers, but the hope of believers, you will receive the crown of everlasting joy as your portion. Herewith we commend you to God, and may He be pleased, ever more and more, to make His will known to us, and conform us to it." This letter, although it was read to the deputies of "The Five Places," at a Diet in Baden, remained, like many a former attempt, destitute of all result.

With the same apostolic zeal with which our Reformer laboured for the wider extension of evangelic truth, he directed his efforts to the erection of Synodal assemblies, which he himself attended, for the farther *development and regulation* of the new church. Towards the end of autumn 1529, a meeting of five hundred clergymen took place at Frauenfeld, at which individual clergymen were subjected by Zwingli to a strict examination into their

walk and conversation, in order, by a majority of the Synod, to remove unworthy or incapable pastors, who, for the most part, had got in through the Papistical Church, and to put tried men in their places. The Reformer returned to Zurich over Constance and Steine on the Rhine, at both which places he preached. A second Synod, which met likewise at Frauenfeld, on the 17th May 1530, was held, with the object of securing to the ministers fixed and competent salaries, as had already been done in Zurich. On the 18th December 1530, the Reformer attended a Synod at St. Gall, over whose deliberations he had been called upon to preside. Here the matter of church-discipline and excommunication came to a discussion, in which Zwingli's principles, as they have been already detailed by us, gained the supremacy, the Christian magistracy being exhorted to punish vice, and to remove scandals. For Thurgau, where, as we know, governors from "The Five Places" alternately exercised the supreme power, twelve superintendents were named, who, as a highest court of morals, were appointed and authorised to punish sins and crimes that caused scandal, and gave public offence. At St. Gall, too, Zwingli preached in the Cathedral to a very numerous congregation. The people afterwards collected under his windows, and, by singing and instrumental music, testified their love and esteem for him. In April 1531, Zwingli received a call to his native vale of Toggenburg, there, at a Synod in Lichtensteig, also to prove and arrange ecclesiastical matters. In his native valley, as everywhere else, he was greeted with a reception full at once of heartiness, enthusiasm, and veneration.

In Zurich, Zwingli's Reforming labours were specially directed, in the latter years of his life, to a transformation of social relations to a conformity with the demands of God's Word. The Council also deciding in ecclesiastical matters, justice required that no enemy of the Church of Christ should hold the office of Councillor. There being, however, declared enemies of the Reformation in this body, Zwingli seized the opportunity of a sermon, which he preached on the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, of urging the necessity for the removal of unbelieving members from the Council. The effect of this sermon was, that, first of all, the members of the Great Council had to make a declaration of their faith before the guilds, and to give a promise of attendance on the preaching of the Word, and participation in the Sacrament,

according to the evangelical mode of dispensation; next, that the Little Council had to exercise the like personal discipline over its members. Councillors who refused to tender the above promise were excluded from office, while, from the nobility to which the greater number of members hostile to the Reformation belonged, the privilege was withdrawn of electing from its body a larger number of Councillors than another guild. These measures were directed chiefly against the aristocracy of the town; the burghers, however, were also made to feel, under Zwingli's influence, the effects of the gospel in checking abuses. In 1530, a great scarcity prevailed in Zurich, and in the whole of Switzerland. At this time the inhabitants of Strasburg gave a fine testimony of their Christian sympathy with this town, by sending a considerable present of corn, by which cheap bread was obtained for many of the poor. The bakers and millers presented a very unfortunate contrast to this generous liberality of strangers. They made use of the scarcity to enrich themselves by shortening the weight, and thereby gave occasion to a general complaint among the citizens. Zwingli, in whose eye avarice and usury were the most hateful vices, zealously bestirred himself against this robbery, and called upon the Council to put an end to it. The Council immediately took the necessary steps to check it; they opened several of the public granaries, and from this time forward corn was ground, and bread baked, under its official superintendence. Frauds by millers and bakers were rigorously punished by imprisonment, or heavy fines. Usury was visited with still greater severity. Squire Conrad von Ruemlang, who had been on several occasions convicted of this offence, was condemned to death, and beheaded.

The serious and earnest spirit in which Zwingli impressed upon the magistracy the duty of punishing dishonesty and usury, reminds us of Peter's zeal against Ananias. Necessary, however, as this severity was for the protection of Christian order in the State, it did not fail to draw after it much hatred and crimination of the Reformer; for Bullinger observes, "that, from time immemorial, the preachers of the Word of God who reprove injustice have been more hated and blamed than those who commit injustice." We shall soon see the bitter fruits of that enmity and hatred which Zwingli earned for his Christian faithfulness and love, by taking up the thread of the narrative at another point, and carrying it forward to its sad close.

4. ORIGIN AND CLOSE OF THE SECOND CAPPEL WAR; ZWINGLI'S DEATH.

Zwingli's gloomy forebodings as to the consequences of the peace concluded at Cappel soon proved to be but too well founded. "The Five Places" had left the field with animosity burning in their bosoms, and renewed in their own homes the oath to continue steadfast to the faith of their fathers, and to visit apostasy from it with vengeance. The interpretation they gave to the treaty of peace was directly the reverse of that put upon it by the evangelical towns. Holding resolutely to the article, that none should compel *them* to abandon their faith, they, on their part, refused to grant the same freedom to the Evangelicals. In the common lordships, the majority of the reigning places should, in their view, decide also in questions of faith, and not the majority of the burghers of each commune, as the evangelical towns with right demanded. In respect of the war-expenses, which "The Five Places" were to repay to the evangelical towns, differences of opinion prevailing, the men who had negotiated and drawn out the treaty of peace were called together to decide both questions in dispute. Berne desired that the war-expenses should be first settled; Zurich, that religious liberty should be first of all secured. "We hold," said the Zurich deputies, according to the instructions given them, "that the honour of God and the gospel should be first of all cared for, and that the article regarding liberty of faith, for the sake of the poor prisoners, whom we ought, from Christian brotherly love, to rescue, should be carried out in all its extent, and with all our power, and that, in reference to the costs, we should shew ourselves more conceding, that it may be seen we are not seeking our own interests, but the glory of God first of all." Berne now joining in the demand made by Zurich that the Word of God must also be permitted to be freely preached and read in the territory of "The Five Places," the Landamman at Baechi, in Schwyz, declared: "They would so hold themselves, in respect of the Word of God, and other things, that the towns should be perfectly satisfied; only that no farther demands were to be made upon them than

the present one in respect of the faith." The umpires held to this declaration, and expressed their hope "that 'The Five Places' would come up to it, and satisfy justice, and so act as it beseemed pious, honourable, and God-fearing men to act." In the event, however, of this not being done, *the towns would be justified in closing their markets against them, and in shutting out all supplies of provisions.*

The Landamman of Baechi had, indeed, expressed the sentiments of many upright men in "The Five Places," but in the communes, and otherwise in public, men of another stamp took the lead. The profligate pensioners, with a host of savage and corrupt mercenaries at their backs, succeeded everywhere by bullying and force in carrying out their objects. Thus it was resolved at Schwyz, August 1529, at a public meeting, presided over by Landamman Rychmuth,* that every one might insult the Evangelicals at pleasure, and trick themselves out with fir-boughs, (the sign of a challenge). The same party had the ascendancy in Zug, Lucerne, and Unterwalden. They continued, in spite of the articles of the treaty, to pour forth against the Evangelicals, but especially against Zwingli, and the people of Zurich, a torrent of invectives and abusive libels, such as only the vilest and most corrupt minds could invent and utter, nay, they even proceeded to acts of violence, so that the few families in Schwyz and Zug that were devoted to the Reformation, were forced to leave these cantons. These proceedings were, indeed, disapproved of by many in "The Five Places," as a declaration of the deputies of Uri, at a separate Diet, held in Brunnen, proves, when they say: "That in many places improper language has been held, and party badges carried, all which things are dangerous to the peace of the land. If war should arise from such doings, their help could not be counted on;" but this remonstrance produced no improvement.

The party of the mercenaries in "The Five Places" entertained fresh hopes from the Diet, to be held by Charles V., at Augsburg, in the summer of 1530. They accordingly despatched an

* Rychmuth was also one of those upstarts enriched by pensions. The well-known Cardinal Schinner used to say, punning on his name: "I found him poor in spirit, and made him rich in spirit, but the King of France made him proud in spirit."

embassage thither, which made its appearance at the Diet with great pomp, and was received by Charles with marked distinction. If it cannot be proved that the Emperor himself gave them assurances of help and support, it is beyond all doubt that the bitterest enemies of the Reformation and of Zwingli, such as Eck, Faber, and the Pope's Legate, did not withhold from the ambassadors of "The Five Places" "a good word." The Austrian officials, too, towards the frontier, such as Martius Sittich of Ems, and the Earl of Sulz, maintained with them a very confidential intercourse. The language of the mercenary party of "The Five Places" was accordingly bolder in the sequel. They said: "They had had a march stolen upon them in the peace of Cappel, and had been curtailed in their liberties. Therefore they would not rest till they had regained their old freedom." Landamman Rychmuth declared to his countrymen, at a meeting of the people: "Let them be only bold and intrepid; the letter of alliance with Austria, which they were obliged to give up at Cappel, would be again renewed by King Ferdinand whenever they desired it."

The ever-increasing embarrassments in reference to the cloister of St. Gall, contributed not a little to fan the flame of hostility into an outbreak of war. The Abbot German, who had been obliged to flee the country, also appeared before the Emperor at Augsburg, praying for help that he might be reinstated in his rights and dignity. He was assured of support through Martius Sittich, and the Archbishop of Constance; however, in his return-journey from Augsburg, the abbot was drowned in the neighbourhood of Bregenz. The monks who had remained true to him, and who lived at Einsiedeln, under the protection of the government of Schwyz, hastened to elect a successor in Diethelm Blaarer of Wartensee. On the other hand, Zurich and Glarus availed themselves of the death of the Abbot Kilian, to dissolve the cloister entirely. Previously to this, a decree had been published by these two cantons, according to which the lieutenant of the district for the time being, was required to swear an oath, before entering on his office, that he would *be favourable* to the Word of God, and *protect* it. The monastery of the town of St. Gall was now sold; the jewels and ornaments still remaining were applied to the benefit of the poor; and the Toggenburgers were allowed to redeem their fealty. Although Zurich drew no

particular advantage from these measures, it certainly overstepped the jurisdiction it possessed as protecting Canton. But afterwards, in the autumn of 1530, when the demand was made to the Lucerne lieutenant to swear to the decree above-mentioned, before entering on his office, and when, upon his refusal, the Zurich lieutenant Frei continued to conduct the official business after the period of his office had expired, "The Five Places" raised loud and bitter complaints against Zurich's autocratic proceedings in these respects. About the same time, the Unterwald governor Kretz, in Rheinthal, was obliged to flee before his indignant subjects, having excited their fury by the gross licentiousness of his life, and the flagrant neglect of his duties. In vain did the Rheinthalers turn to the government of Unterwald with the prayer that they would replace the faithless and hated official by a man of honour and integrity. Instead of this, a deputation of "The Five Places" came with the intention of reinstating the banished lieutenant in his office; the latter was seized, taken prisoner by the incensed populace, and carried in safe custody to Altstatt. Although the inhabitants of Zurich took no part in these acts of self-help, they were nevertheless accused of it by "The Five Places," the Rheinthalers belonging to the Reformed party.

At a Diet held January 1531, at Baden, the deputies of "The Five Places" made loud complaints against Zurich's self-constituted and capriciously exercised authority. While the Zurich deputies repelled the reproaches made against their canton, they accused "The Five Places" themselves of violation of the treaty, inasmuch as the Evangelicals, instead of finding protection within their borders, were exposed to the grossest injustice. At the request of Zurich, a new Diet was summoned for March 1531. At this Diet, the Zurich deputy read a long list of insults and injuries perpetrated on the Evangelicals, on the part of "The Five Places;" the doers were named, and time and place exactly given, that "The Five Places" might have the less excuse for declining Zurich's requisition, that the guilty should be visited with due punishment. "With an indifferent, cold, coloured apology, invented with all duplicity, and destitute of all show of truth," as the Zurich narrator says, the deputies of "The Five Places" attempted in vain to clear themselves of

the accusations laid to their charge. During the discussion of these matters, deputies appeared from Graubund at the Diet, with a petition, praying all the Confederates for help against the Castellan of Musso, who had surprised and murdered a Graubund deputation, on their return-journey from Milan, and had now made an inroad into Veltlin, with troops put at his disposal by the Emperor. Indignation seized the Confederate deputies at the insolent violation of the law of nations by the audacious adventurer; the delegates of "The Five Places," however, remained cold and insensible, and could scarcely conceal the mischievous joy they felt at the misfortunes of the Protestant Graubunders. All the other cantons and towns were ready to render instant assistance to their oppressed allies,* but "The Five Places" refused, under the cover of some empty excuses. The Reformers saw in the audacious proceeding of the Castellan of Musso the first step towards the suppression of evangelical truth contemplated by the banded papal Imperial party, which had leagued together for this object, while the words and deeds of the chief men in "The Five Places" were by no means calculated to teach them another lesson. "Our lord of Musso," they said, "is a good Christian, and therefore the Zurichers and Graubunders levy war upon him. If 'The Five Places' were to render aid here, it would be to change a good friend into an enemy." At the same time, they hectored about the favour of the Emperor, and other foreign princes. "Every week," said the mayor Honegger, "publicly, the lords of 'The Five Places' receive letters from the Emperor, exhorting them to do nothing against the lord of Musso, but to remain at home."

Such seditious proceedings, carried on with a rude insolence, and boasted of with the most shameless audacity, could no longer be passed over with impunity by the Protestant Confederates, unless they were to expose themselves to supreme contempt. None, perhaps, recognising more clearly than Zwingli the dangers impending the Reformed doctrine and Christian order

* The Duke of Milan, on learning that the Confederates had sent an army of eleven thousand men to succour the Graubunders, expressed his dissatisfaction at this step, and undertook himself to bring the war with the Castellan to an end, the Confederates and the Graubunders leaving him two thousand of their men in his pay.

Word of God, without disturbing any one in the exercise either of his rights or in his faith. In this manner, he hoped to attain the object in view without much difficulty. The second method, which he intended to recommend in the event of the first not being approved of, was to dissolve the Confederacy, in respect of "The Five Places," and to divide the common lordships according to the population. By this measure, Zwingli thought to defend, at least, the territory of the Evangelical cantons, as well as the greater part of the common lordships, from the acts of violence and corrupting influences of the pensioners. The government of Zurich was disposed to a *warlike invasion*; and so early as the 12th May 1531, the matter had been discussed at the Burgher Diet in Aarau.

The opinions of the Bernese were to this effect: The conduct of the Wald towns, in respect of the Word of God, undoubtedly justified an armed intervention; yet the powerful connections which "The Five Places" maintained, could not be overlooked, as well as the fact that the inhabitants were intrepid and bold warriors. The prevailing famine, too, the general destitution, and the approaching harvest, which would be destroyed by a campaign, ought not to be disregarded. In this way, the innocent would be punished with the guilty by the war, which would be an act of great injustice. They, on the other hand, proposed to close their markets against "The Five Cantons," and to permit neither corn nor wine, salt, iron, nor steel to be imported amongst them, until they should allow the Word of God to be freely read and preached, both in the common lordships, and in their own territories, and until they shall punish the shameless libellers and calumniators of the Evangelical party. This measure, they said, was in accordance with the decision of the umpires, and would have the effect of stimulating the well-meaning and honourable part of the inhabitants to act against the pensioners, so that the latter would be compelled to desist from their violent and iniquitous courses.

Zurich, under Zwingli's influence, gave this proposal a determined opposition. "It was unwise, since the advantages already gained were thereby sacrificed, and time was given to 'The Five Places' to arm, nay, they were actually compelling them to arm and fight. Since their good friends in 'The Five Places' were

just as much affected by the embargo as the pensioners, they would thereby be transformed into enemies, and forced to go with the crowd. A just war is not contrary to the Word of God, but it is contrary to the Spirit of this Word to deprive the innocent as well as the guilty of bread, and to send the evils of famine among the sick, the old, and women great with child, who had already enough to suffer under the tyrannous government of the pensioners." These remonstrances of Zurich were frustrated by the general support which Berne's proposal met with from the rest of the Burgher-towns, so that at length the Zurich government was forced to yield "with pain and sorrow, and only out of respect for its allies." Accordingly, it was passed into a resolution, 15th May. This result grieved none more than Zwingli. After the announcement had been read upon the following Sunday, which was Pentecost, from the pulpit, according to an old Swiss custom, Zwingli interwove in his discourse the following observations upon it: "He who does not hesitate to treat his opponent like a criminal must take the consequences; if he do not strike, he himself will be struck. Ye men of Zurich refuse 'The Five Places' meat and drink as though they were criminals; rather, I say, let the blow follow your threats at once than that the poor innocent people among them should be put to the slow process of starvation. Are you of opinion that no sufficient ground exists for their punishment? Why, then, do you refuse them meat and drink? Depend upon it you force them, by such measures, to take up arms, to march over the frontier, and to punish yourselves. And so it will be." These words made a different impression upon different auditors. Some looked upon them as seditious; others regarded them as a new proof of the faithful concern of the Reformer for the weal of his afflicted country.

The embargo being once resolved upon and proclaimed to the Wald towns by Berne and Zurich, whose territory bordered on the other, it was administered by Zurich with all stringency. Even the inhabitants of the districts governed conjunctly by these towns and 'The Five Places' were forbidden to bring provisions to their own rulers, a measure which appeared, even to some of the Evangelicals, to be too great a stretch of severity. One cry of indignation and despair resounded from the valleys and moun-

before the Council, and said: "As they had promised amendment, he would remain with them, and would do his best, *till death itself*, with God's grace." For a moment, Zurich appeared to summon up her energies again to resolute action; but soon the blighting effects of party spirit re-appeared with new force, while "The Five Places" gave still plainer intimations of their determination to compel the removal of the embargo by force of arms.

Great exertions, indeed, were made by the deputies of those places in Switzerland, to which faction had not spread its baleful influence, and by the ambassadors of France, Milan, and Neuenburg, for the maintenance of peace, and for bringing about an amicable settlement of existing differences. Six diets, one after another, were held, with this object, in Bremgarten; but the demands of both the parties were so opposed to each other, that it was impossible to mediate. The deputies of "The Five Places" required, as a preliminary step to the entering on any negotiation, the removal of the embargo in the first instance; Zurich and Berne, on the other hand, demanded that the reading and preaching of the Word of God should be declared free, not only in the common lordships, but in the whole of Switzerland; for, said they, it is more cruel to deprive hungry souls of the bread of life, than to lay an arrest on mere victuals for the body. Zwingli, although personally he was ready to lay down his life for his convictions, beheld with a deep anxiety for the cause of the Gospel, that the embarrassments of their situation, and the dangers to which they were exposed daily increased. An open rupture still appeared to him less disastrous for the Evangelical towns than longer inactivity. During the time that the diets were held in Bremgarten, he took advantage of the darkness of night to repair to this place, in order to discuss with the Bernese deputies the critical situation of the Reformed party. The interview took place in Bullinger's house, and the substance of what passed is communicated to us by him. Zwingli said: "I fear that matters will have a bad ending from the treachery that prevails. The embargo laid on provisions was a very inauspicious measure for the towns. If it be given up, the party of the mercenaries will only be rendered more arrogant; if it be persisted in, "the Five Places" will invade us, will involve many in

ruin, will bring loss to the Church of Christ, and will throw all into anarchy. Nay, it is much to be feared that the inhabitants of "The Five Places" will only be rendered more inveterate in their hatred of the Gospel by these measures, and not so quickly come to the knowledge of salvation. We shall again have to suffer from the opposition of Popish priests, &c." The Bernese delegates promised to do their utmost to induce their government to adopt a decided course of action. Before day-break, Zwingli left Bremgarten with his friends, that it might not be known to the delegates of "The Five Places, that he had been in the town." Bullinger convoyed him part of the way homewards. Upon his desiring to return, Zwingli took farewell of him three times, boding that he would never more see him. "God preserve thee, dear Henry, remain faithful to the Lord Jesus and His Church," were his last words, which, in the spirit of prophecy, he addressed to his worthy successor Bullinger.

In external nature, things took place which filled the minds of men, already oppressed with a painful sense of the dangers impending on their country, with gloomy apprehensions. A comet of unusual size was visible in the heavens in the August of this year. Zwingli, too, contemplated it on the night of the 15th August, with his friend, George Mueller, the former Abbot of Wettingen, in the churchyard close by the great Minster. "What may this star signify, dear Huldreich?" inquired Mueller. "It will light me," replied Zwingli, "and many an honest man in this Confederacy, who would willingly see truth and right victorious, to our graves." "With God's grace, No!" said Mueller, "God will not let such a catastrophe happen." "He will," rejoined Zwingli, "He will, for a confirmation of His truth. But if the rod begin at the house of God, then woe to the enemies of the Gospel. Yet God will maintain His cause, although it came so low that it is believed to be in ruins. I trust the cause itself; it is right and good; but I trust the people as little as I can. Our only comfort is in God." It was reported to Zwingli by a Bernese official, that in the neighbourhood of Brugg, in Aargau, blood had flowed out of the earth in streams. Another said, that a shield had been seen in the air in Zug, and that shooting by night was heard in the Reuss. Upon the Bruenig, standards were seen flapping in the heavens, and ships were seen

cruising about on the Lake of Lucerne, filled with ghostly warriors. Everything announced direful events to gloomy minds. Zwingli, for his part, saw the plainest omens of coming disasters to his church and country in the general dislocation of counsel which prevailed among the Evangelicals, in the growing power and audacity of the mercenary party, and in the almost universal unfaithfulness and treachery which this party spread like a network over the whole land. Once more he raised his voice with energy: "Be it so," said he, in one of his sermons, "no faithful warning is of farther use; you will not punish the pensioners who lift their head so proudly. They have strong props among you. But a chain is forged, and it is prepared to strangle me and many a good Zurich. For it is to ruin me that all this is done. I am ready; and submit myself to the will of God. These people shall never be *my* masters. But to thee, O Zurich! they will give the reward of iniquity, and will drive a stake through thy head, for so thou would'st have it. Thou wilt not punish them, and they will punish thee. Nevertheless, God will preserve His Word, and their glory will speedily have an end. May the Lord guide His own people, and protect His Church."

Once more, the deputies of Glarus, Freiburg, Appenzell, Strassburg, and Constance, met together, in order if possible to concoct a peace. The following propositions were to serve as a basis for negotiations: (1.) The examination and punishment of libellers to be committed to the umpires. (2.) Those who had been banished for the gospel to be allowed to return to their homes, without the fear of any farther persecution or punishment. (3.) Touching matters of faith, all to remain by the articles of the land-peace, and everything else to be decided by the Diets. (4.) On these preliminaries being settled, the embargo to be taken off. Zurich and Berne manifested their willingness to accept these proposals, but the ambassadors of peace found no ear in "The Five Places." The war for which these cantons had long been secretly arming was considered as already begun. Accordingly, the delegates, when they returned from thence, exhorted the towns to prepare for the worst, and to arm. "The Five Places" proceeded without delay to action whenever their deputies had resolved, at a Diet in Brunnen, to declare war against Zurich and Berne. The passes were secretly watched, that none might

pass through and give the Evangelicals warning of the intended invasion. Thereon, on the 9th of October, a body of twelve thousand men took the road for Hitzkirch in the direction of "The Free Offices," marking their path by all the horrors of war, while the main body, eight thousand strong, marched upon Zug the same evening. The general distress they endured united these warriors to a man, so that only one resolution animated them: to punish the enemy, to open the passes, and to secure their independence. Strengthened in body and soul by a substantial meal, and the services of the Church, they proceeded, early on the morning of the 10th, to the Zuger-Allmend, and took the oath to the standards. Their leaders exhorted them to a courageous behaviour. To this united and resolute action, the conduct of the Zurich government presented a melancholy contrast. They had, indeed, as early as September, on the report reaching their ears, that "The Five Places" were arming, elected a council-of-war, consisting of the experienced warriors, Rudolf Lavater, John Schweizer, and William Toenig, and furnished them with full authority to levy men according to the necessities of the State, and to employ them in the defence of their country; but this authority they immediately neutralised by another resolution. Indignant at the cabals of a party in the government, Lavater withdrew to his governorship at Kyburg, and only returned on the 9th of October to the town, at a summons from the government. Already, on this very day, the government had received intelligence from the Abbot of Cappel, and from peasants, of the danger with which they were threatened; but they were unable to nerve themselves to any resolute action, and satisfied themselves with despatching members of the Council to the spot to obtain information. The Councillors Ulrich Funk and Thumeisen arrived at Cappel, where the people of the country had already collected, in arms, to defend themselves, and who were bitterly complaining of the negligence of the government. In these circumstances, Funk and Thumeisen remained where they were, to hearten the country people, and sent back to the government advices that they should get the army drawn together as speedily as possible, and sent forward to Cappel, as the enemy were already marching on this place from Zug.

On the 10th October the Great Council assembled at Zurich, to

take measures necessary for the defence of the country. Banneret Schweizer strongly urged that the van, under its captain already named, George Goeldli, should be immediately despatched to Cappel, and that the main body of the army should follow with as little delay as possible. There was a long deliberation upon this point, for there was a party in the Council that put every iron in the fire to frustrate all resolute action on the part of the Council. In the meanwhile, messenger after messenger came from Cappel praying for speedy assistance. It was at length resolved to send Goeldli forward with six hundred men and artillery. This reinforcement arrived in Cappel during the night.

Immediately after Goeldli's departure, Lavater, with the concurrence of a council-of-war, hastily summoned, which Zwingli also attended, expressed his desire that a general levy of the people should be made, in order to hasten, with as great a body of men as possible, to the rescue of their invaded country. But Lavater was disappointed of getting his design carried through; the Great Council, it was said, must first of all meet and decide upon it. Thus precious hours were again wasted: for it was evening ere the Council authorised, by a formal resolution, the measure which had been suggested by the Commander-in-Chief. A night of horrors descended on the canton of Zurich. The earth appeared to reel on its foundations:* bells screamed from the church-towers, traitors roamed through the land, spreading false rumours, and increasing the general turmoil. In the morning, the great banner was set up at the Town-Hall, but it clung to the pole, and refused to unfurl—in the eyes of many, a bad omen. Slowly and in scanty numbers the warriors dropped in. It happened that it being necessary to despatch two bodies of troops to Waedenschwyl, and "The Free Offices," many had gone thither who had been designated to the main body. The march could not begin till mid-day. Zwingli had been appointed field-preacher, for both his friends and enemies wished his appointment, although for different reasons. Nor did he himself hesitate for an instant to accept the post in this hour of danger: "I stand intrepidly prepared for the worst," he had written shortly before to a friend, "for God is my stay." Painfully bitter, however,

* There was an earthquake felt on this night.

was the farewell he took from his spouse and children, whom he had a presentiment he should never see more. But it was the Lord's cause for which he was going out to battle; and the Lord has said: "Whosoever loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." When he was in the act of mounting his horse, the animal reared and fell backwards. His friends turned pale, who saw it. "He will never come back," said they one to the other. Hardly seven hundred men, instead of four thousand as was expected, gathered round the standard. Upon Myconius seeing this little troop marching out in great disorder, and Zwingli amongst them, he was seized with such an agony of spirit, that he could scarcely stand upright. For a few moments, Zwingli was seen leaving his comrades, and marching by himself; and one of his friends, who followed behind him, heard him praying with great fervency, and committing himself, soul and body, and especially the Church, to the Lord. Arrived at the top of the Albis, William Toenig, the captain of the sharpshooters, gave it as his opinion, they ought to wait till their small numbers had been increased by farther accessions; but the sound of cannon from Cappel announced that the van was already engaged. Zwingli hereon said: "If we wait till the great body of our friends arrive, our help will come too late. I will, in God's name, go to the brave fellows, and either die with them or help them." Lavater also thought they could not wait upon reinforcements, as treachery was disorganising and frustrating everything. Thus the banner arrived at Cappel at three o'clock.

Here the fight had lasted already three hours, although only with cannon. The Zurich artillery, admirably served, and advantageously posted, maintained a great superiority over that of "The Five Places." Confusion spread for a time through the ranks of the Roman Catholic army, which was spread out upon a morass, and lay exposed to the cannon of the Zurichers, so that, as Bullinger thinks, terms of peace would have been readily listened to by them at that time. But the saying of Zwingli to the Landamman Aebli was destined to prove true: "When they attack us, then there will be none to mediate." Some men of courage among the Zurichers were for taking advantage of the enemy's evident confusion, but Captain Goeldli, who had a brother in the hostile army, and who seemed to have his heart there also,

refused to give his consent to this surprise, which volunteers were willing to execute. A wood on the flank of the Zurich army was to have been occupied by volunteers; by Goeldli's orders, they were prevented from doing this, and it was occupied by the enemy without difficulty. In this manner, Goeldli frustrated everything calculated to bring about a favourable result for the Zurichers. He always put forward the instructions he had received, to avoid a battle till the banner had arrived.

The Zurichers held a Council, after the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, as to what in the circumstances had best be done. Some were for retreating till the army had been strengthened by accessions, but the majority were in favour of encountering the enemy where they stood. "We must place our confidence in God, and not in our own numbers and strength; our fathers have often by God's help conquered a whole army with a handful of men." As it was late, no attack was expected for the day, and measures were taken for bivouacking. Goeldli received orders to occupy Moenchbuehl, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy.

The leaders of the army of "The Five Places" also held a council-of-war. Here, likewise, the majority refused to listen to any attack for the day; "it was too late," they said, "and it had never been the custom of their ancestors to shed blood on holy Childermas-Day." A practised warrior, Governor Jauch, joins the circle of councillors. He states how he had found the wood unoccupied, from whence the Zurich army was visible, weak, and unprepared against an attack. He begs for a few volunteers, with whom he engages easily to vanquish the enemy. Caspar Goeldli, brother to George, here interposes, saying: "I know the Zurichers well, if you don't beat them to-day, they will beat you to-morrow." Jauch hastened back to the wood, where he found three hundred arquebusiers, and four hundred men-at-arms, with spears and halberds, waiting for him. With these he attacked the enemy on the front and on the flank, issuing from the wood. The enemy, though unprepared, speedily fell into order of battle. Lavater advanced, lance in hand, and cried with a loud voice: "Brave men, remember the glory of God and of Zurich, and stand firm." Zwingli also turned to them, and said: "Cheer up, my noble fellows, and fear not. If

we are to suffer, it is nevertheless in a good cause. Commend yourselves to God, who is able to take care of us and of ours. The Lord's will be done." The battle began with great asperity. The body that, under Goeldli, should have held the Moenchbuehl, fled with rapidity, traitors shouting out behind them: "Flee, flee, good men of Zurich, not one will be spared alive." Thus scarcely a thousand men were opposed to the eight times stronger force of "The Five Places;" yet victory for a time hung in suspense, for the Zurichers fought with the courage of lions, and the enthusiasm of Christian heroes, willing to offer up their lives for the noblest possessions. But soon they fell thick, like the precious grain in autumn, beneath the strokes of their embittered foes, and at length were obliged to abandon the battle-field, leaving upon it more than five hundred, who slept the sleep of death, or who were writhing in the agony of death-wounds. Zwingli, too, the faithful shepherd of the flock, rested among his sheep. He had bent himself down, soon after the beginning of the combat, to comfort with the words of life a fallen countryman, when a stone struck his helmet with such force that he was cast to the ground. He soon summoned up strength to rise again, but a hostile spear gave him immediately a fatal stab. "What evil is it? They may kill the body, the soul they cannot kill;" these were his last words. The day had now declined, and night was spreading her black canopy over the field of battle. The flames of evening-light were dying fast away from mountain-peak to mountain-peak, while, in the valley below, souls were leaving their bonds of clay, and winging their flight heavenwards. Above, the stars of God were shining, for a testimony that, when the earthly light is extinguished within us, the heavenly light arises in our souls.

Zwingli had fallen near a pear-tree. He was leaning on it; his hands were clasped, his lips moved in prayer, while his eyes were directed heavenwards. In this state, a party of marauding soldiers found him. "Will you confess? Shall we fetch a priest?" they cry to him. The tongue which had once so eloquently combatted error is now dumb, but the man of God makes a motion with his head signifying a negative. "Then call upon the mother of God and the blessed saints in your heart," they shout to him again. "*No, I will not deny my Saviour,*" were the words he had

used in his last sermon, and this decisive negative, which proceeded from a living faith that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man, he still signifies by a motion of his head in death. "Die,* then, obstinate heretic," said Bockinger, an officer from Unterwalden, and with that he gave him a fatal stab. The next day his countenance was still flushed as when he preached. The town-parson, Schoen Crunner of Zug, formerly convent-master of Cappel, could not restrain his tears when he heard of his death. "Whatever thy faith was," said he, "I know that thou wast a true-hearted Confederate; God be merciful to thy soul." But the savage rabble of mercenaries carried their hatred to the witness of truth even against his body. It was quartered by the hand of the common hangman, burned, and the ashes mixed with the ashes of a swine, that it might be impossible for his friends and admirers to identify his remains.† "Mortals can indeed rage against his body," wrote Leo Jud, soon after, "they can annihilate it, and abuse the innocent even after his death; but the death of the brave cannot be disgraceful, nor the death of the saint miserable. He still lives, and lives eternally the unconquerable hero, and leaves a memorial behind him which no fire can consume, nor flame destroy. In the body he was put to death by those to whose well-being he had devoted a whole lifetime of zeal. While endeavouring to bring back his countrymen to the worship of the one true God, and to transform their corrupted manners into the ancient simplicity and proved integrity of their ancestors, he is led by an unavoidable fate to the battle-field, and there deprived of his life, by those for whose security and welfare he had exposed himself to every danger, and to general hatred. Yet he had a glorious lot. God, whose glory he ever sought and defended, at the sacrifice of his life, will make the memorial of this man famous, and will not suffer it to perish. All honest men, who have partaken of his benefits, and have tasted of his incomparable love and affection, will contribute to this end according to their ability."

A great number of Zwingli's friends and fellow-labourers in

* Zwingli died at the age of forty-seven years, nine months, and eleven days.

† Thomas Platter went a few days afterwards over the field of battle, and found Zwingli's heart unconsumed in the ashes, which was regarded as an evidence of Zwingli's faithful love to his country surviving even death.

the cause of God and truth shared his fate. The noble Baron von Geroldseck, the Comthur Schmidt, abbot Joner of Cappel, and two-and-twenty clergymen, sealed their faithfulness to the gospel with their blood. Zwingli's friends, Ulrich Funk, Thumaisen, the hoary-headed Canneret Schweizer, and Toenig, the captain of the archers, were not divided in death from their common friend. The young Gerold Meyer of Knonau proved, by his heroic death on the field of battle, that he had well learned the lessons taught him by his paternal friend, in regard to the duty of fighting and dying in the cause of truth, and in the defence of his fatherland.

Dreadful messages of death were communicated one after the other to the noble spouse of the Reformer. She lost in this battle not only her husband Huldreich, and her son Gerold, but besides, a brother, a brother-in-law, and a son-in-law. But she had been directed by Zwingli to a well from which she could draw consolation in rich measure. Even on earth, she experienced that the memory of the just man is a legacy of blessing which he bequeaths to all connected with him. When that excellent man Bullinger was appointed Zwingli's successor, he not only cared with all the fidelity of a disciple for the church, deprived of its pastoral head, by the death of his master, but he cared with all the love of a son for the widow and children of his departed father. They were immediately, upon his entrance on office, taken into his own house, and regarded as members of his own family. Anna Zwingli survived her husband seven years; she then, through a gentle death, joined him in heaven.

As Bullinger cared for the church, renovated by his deceased friend, and for his family, he cared likewise for his good name, which the world was too apt to libel after his death. With the words which he wrote to this end, we shall close our life of the noble Zwingli: "The victory of truth is alone in the hand of God, and is not bound to any particular person or age. Christ was also put to death, and his enemies thought Him vanquished, but forty years afterwards the standard of His victory was planted on the ruined walls of Jerusalem. Truth accordingly does not triumph in not being tried; rather in the trial she finds her confirmation. But here faith, patience, and a steady endurance are necessary to us. The strength of the Christian rises with his

weakness. Therefore, dear brethren in Germany, suffer not our want of victory to offend you, but persevere in the Word of God. This has ever conquered, even although the holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs have been reviled and slain for it. Blessed are all they who die in the Lord. Victory, too, follows in its time, for a thousand years are with God as one day. Nor is the victory a single one, but each combatant is crowned with victory who suffers and dies for the truth."

THE END.

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